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DIGGING FOR THE COPPER-GUGGENHEIM'S ORIGIN

— WERNER L. FRANK AND PETER STEIN

Another book has appeared about the Copper-Guggenheim family. This one was published in 2005 and called *The Guggenheims, A Family History* by Irwin and Debi Unger.[1] For genealogists it is disappointing that this latest history of the famous Guggenheims fails to take note of recent discoveries concerning the family's origin.

What makes this branch of the Guggenheim family so popular, deserving at least a half-dozen English biographies over the past seventy years? Is it the great wealth and power accumulated by one Jewish family? Or, is it due to its overwhelming dominance in mining and smelting copper ore and other minerals from the quarries of North, Central and South America?[2] Could it be their involvement in the development of commercial aviation in the U.S.A. or their financial commitments to a nascent rocketry program? Is fame due to their family foundations, created to promote the well being of mankind in social and medical settings, for advancing aeronautics and aerospace sciences, for making fellowship awards for advanced studies or for fostering art and art education? Could it be a result of founding and financing the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York, the Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao and the Guggenheim Museum of Venice? Is their renown due to creating and publishing *Newsday* for many years? Or, is it their familiarity and connections with the likes of Bernard Baruch, Calvin Coolidge, Fiorello LaGuardia, Robert H. Goddard, Herbert Hoover, Theodor von Karman, Charles Lindbergh, William (Billy) Mitchell, Frank Lloyd Wright and other luminaries? It is, of course, all of these factors and then some.

Regardless which aspect of the family appeals most to authors and readers, the mystique of the refugee origin of the Copper-Guggenheims and their significant ascent to wealth and social standing, makes for a great Horatio Alger story. From their humble beginnings in the small village of Lengnau in the Surbtal region north of Zürich, Switzerland, to the finest mansions in New York City, this rags-to-riches tale of perseverance and achievement bears telling.

In 1847, Simon Meyer Guggenheim (1792-1869) along with his five children, and new bride, Rachel Weil Meyer, a widow with an additional seven children, emigrated from Switzerland to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The future founder of the Copper-Guggenheim empire was Simon's son, Meyer (1828-1905), who soon after arrival in the United States married his stepsister Barbara Meyer (1834-1900), daughter of Rachel. In the popular literature, this Guggenheim family branch reaches back to Stammvater [patriarch] Sisseli, who was born in the latter part of the 17th century (see Figure 1). However, recent

1
Irwin Unger and Debi Unger, *The Guggenheims, A Family History*, Harper Collins Publishers, New York, N.Y., 2005.

2
This connection to copper mining and smelting led to the labeling of this family as the Copper-Guggenheim.

genealogical findings now make it possible to trace the family back many more generations.

The Stein and Frank interest

Both authors of this article have an interest in the Guggenheim family, one of us being a direct descendant of the late 17th century Guggenheim of Lengnau, Schaul Meir (also known as Marum, Maram or Marem) and the other having an ancestor who married a granddaughter of this Stammvater. While neither of us is descended from the Copper-Guggenheim branch of the family, we believe that we share a common ancestry. We have long wondered how this prominent family fits into the mosaic of the Guggenheims of

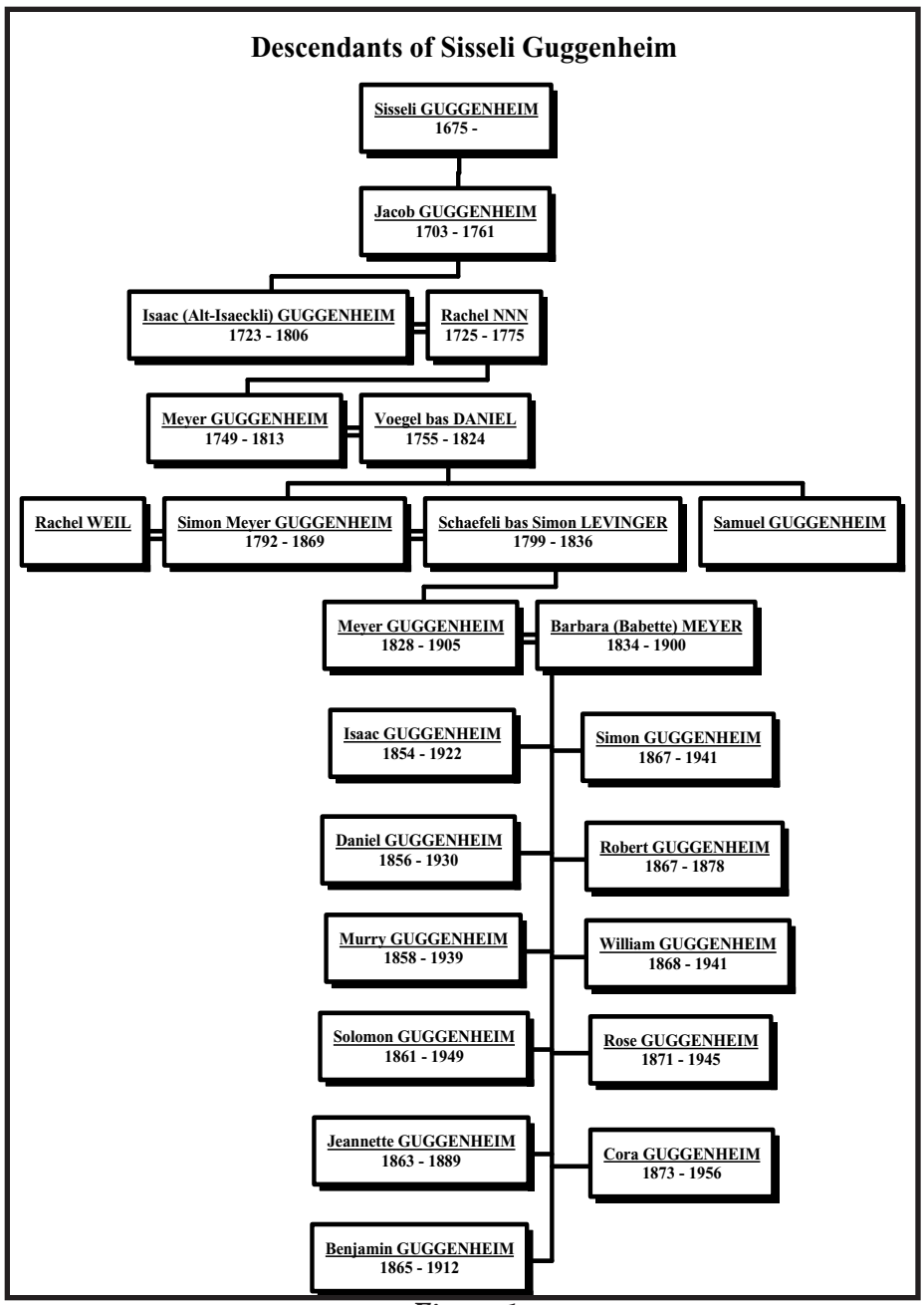


Figure 1

Lengnau. In particular, Peter Stein has researched the family, having published a number of articles on the subject in *Maajan*.[3] Stein has developed some thoroughly researched theories regarding the likely connection between the direct descendants of Schaul Meir and the Kupfer [Copper] Guggenheims based upon an earlier common ancestor.

The history of the Guggenheim family in Lengnau

Perhaps the most valid and credible early history of the Swiss Guggenheim family was published by Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg in the pamphlet "Die ältesten jüdischen Familien in Lengnau und Endingen" [The Oldest Jewish Families in Lengnau and Endingen].[4] She identifies five separate Guggenheim families in Lengnau who were likely connected to each other based on their respective naming patterns, but whose actual relationship could not be determined at that time:

- Family I: Headed by Stammvater Maram (Schaul Meir), who was Parnas [community leader] of Lengnau in 1675, identified in 1689 by a signature and seal, and was cited 1698 as "der jud Maram von Lengnau." He died in 1699. One son, Jakob (abt 1670-1741) is well researched, having had five sons and three daughters.

- Family II: Headed by Stammvater Moses; died between 1766 and 1770.

- Family III: Headed by Stammvater Sissel or Sisseli. One son was Jacob (1703-abt 1787) who had three known sons: Moses (died 1794), Isaac, known as Alt Isäckli (1723-1806), and Salomon (1734-1796). This is the family cited earlier in the Figure 1 descendant chart for the Copper-Guggenheims.

- Family IV: Headed by Stammvater Hitzig who died between 1761 and 1766.

- Family V: Headed by Stammvater Salomon who died between 1782 and 1788.

Guggenheim-Grünberg observed that Family II and III on the one hand, and Family IV and V on the other, had close relationships. She believes that these five families, as well as two Guggenheim families from nearby Endingen, were somehow connected. Later research by Peter Stein identified two additional early Guggenheim family units associated with Lengnau (see endnote 1, *Maajan*, Heft 69, pp. 2250-2251).

Guggenheim-Grünberg also wrote an article for the *Israelitsche Wochenblatt* of 7 August 1953: "Die Lengnauer Vorfahren der 'Kupfer-Guggenheim' in Amerika" [The Lengnauer Ancestors of the Copper-Guggenheims in America]. Here we are introduced to the line of descent from Sisseli, shown in Figure 1 in the earlier cited descendant tree. Relevant to a later discussion, she mentions ancestor Isaac, grandson of Sisseli, with her spelling of his nickname as Alt Aisikle (compare to the earlier Alt Isäckli identified in Family III).

Guggenheim-Grünberg does not deal with the origin of these Guggenheim families. Recent genealogical research suggests that their starting point was Worms and/or Frankfurt a/M (see below).

Other sources of information on the history of the Guggenheim family

The contemporary interest in Jewish genealogy has led a number of researchers to investigate the origin of the Guggenheim family. The use of this surname predates the mandated adoption of family names for Jews.[5] The Guggenheim name has appeared in

3
Peter Stein, "Nachkommen von Marum Schaul Meir Guggenheim aus Lengnau in Elsass-Lothringen," [Descendants of Marum Schaul Meir Guggenheim of Lengnau in Alsace-Lorraine], *Maajan*, Heft 62, March 2002. ibid, "Guggenheim aus Lengnau in Metz," [Guggenheim of Lengnau in Metz], *Maajan*, Heft 64, September 2002. ibid, "Guggenheim aus Lengnau in Metz," [Guggenheim of Lengnau in Metz], 2. Teil, *Maajan*, Heft 65, December 2002. ibid, "Neu entdeckte Quellen zur Frühgeschichte der Juden in der Schweiz" [Newly Discovered Sources Regarding the Early History of Jews in Switzerland], *Maajan*, Heft 71, June 2004.

4
Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg, "Die ältesten jüdischen Familien in Lengnau und Endingen," [The Oldest Jewish Families in Lengnau and Endingen], *Beiträgre zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Juden in der Schweiz*, Heft 4, Verlag Jüdische Buch-Gemeinde, Zürich, 1954.

Author Dr. Peter Stein standing amidst graves in the Jewish cemetery serving Lengnau and Endingen. (photo by W.Frank)

various forms: Gugenheim, Guggenheimer, Guckenheim, Guckenheimer, Gougenheim, Guggenem, Koguenom, Goguenheim, et al. The variety in spelling may be due to the origin or subsequent location of a particular branch of the family.

Benny Guggenheim[6] is one such researcher. He has proposed three possible starting points for the Guggenheim family: (1) Jugenheim or Jugenheimb near Mainz in today's Rheinland-Pfalz, or (2) in the Bergstrasse, between Darmstadt and Heidelberg, or (3) in Gougenheim, north of Strasbourg in Alsace. Regardless from which of these three locations the first Guggenheim emerged, Benny Guggenheim asserts that their surname had appeared in the Mainzer Memorbuch [book of remembrance] in 1657 and in the Wormser Memorbuch in 1652 (specifically Rabbi Akiba Guggenheim) as well as in other archival sources from Worms that lead back to 1550.

Bottom line, Benny Guggenheim adopted the 1939 conclusion of well-known family researcher Rabbi Dr. Moise Ginsburger of Strasbourg that the Guggenheim family originated in the Alsatian town of Gougenheim and migrated from there to Worms around 1540.[7] While Benny Guggenheim's own family remained in Worms, he believes that the Swiss Guggenheim contingent arrived in Lengnau/Endingen from Worms in the period after the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

Elizabeth Plaut has a different finding regarding the origin of the Guggenheim family. In her book, *The Guggenheim/Wormser Family, a Genealogical 300-Year Memoir*, Plaut noted that the family may have originated in the Jugenheim located in the Bergstrasse. The earliest ancestor identified by Plaut is Isaac, born 1703 in Worms, son of Samuel (Sanwil) Jehuda Guggenheim; he represents the fifth generation of Guggenheims in Worms. This particular branch emigrated in 1733/1734 from Worms to Aldingen, near Ludwigsburg in Württemberg.[9] Ultimately, they changed their surname from Guggenheim to Wormser.

A more recent genealogical investigation of the Guggenheim family is provided by John Berkowitch. He authored a series of five articles in the *Revue du Cercle de Généalogie Juive* during 2002-2003.[10] Berkowitch began his review by identifying the fifteenth century possible ancestors who precede the adoption of the surname Guggenheim as well as naming the likely places of their origin ranging from Neuss to Prague to Frankfurt a/M, and from the small town of Jugenheim near Mainz. Furthermore, he identifies and tracks descendants of Guggenheim families which settled in many towns of Alsace, Lorraine, Germany and Switzerland.[11]

5
Surname adoption edicts appeared at the end of the eighteenth century in France and progressed eastward to other parts of Europe in the early nineteenth century.

6
Benny Guggenheim,"Die Guggenheim-Familie," [The Family Guggenheim], *Maajan*, Heft 64, September 2002.

7
Article by R. Moises Ginsburger in *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, Zürich, 16 June 1939.

8
Elizabeth S. Plaut, *The Guggenheim/Wormser Family, A Genealogical 300-Year Memoir*, KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1996.

9
Ibid, 5.

10
John Berkowitch, "Origine et Diffusion du patronyme Gugenheim,"*Revue du Cercle de Généalogie Juive*, Paris, Issue 71 (July-September 2002), Issue 72 (October-December 2002), Issue 73 (January-March 2003), Issue 75 (July-September 2003) and Issue 77 (January-March 2004).

11
Berkowitch's discoveries regarding the early Guggenheim ancestry were supported by the research contained in Josef Heinzelmann's article, "Die Herkunft der ältesten Guggenheim" [The Origin of the Oldest Guggenheim] in *Archiv für Familiengeschichteforschung,* 1997.

A significant archival discovery produced the next major contribution to understanding the 17th century migration of the Guggenheim family to southwest Germany. Researcher Friedrich Wollmershäuser of Oberdischingen, Germany, had been engaged to review the Ratsprotokolle [municipal records] of Stühlingen in order to identify a Jewish presence before their expulsion from this German town in 1743.[12] Peter Stein became aware of Wollmershäuser's findings and recognized names that were likely members of the Guggenheim family. The proximity of Stühlingen to the border of Switzerland, and hence Lengnau, suggested that Jews from the former may have found refuge in the latter. This led Stein to author two articles in *Maajan*, speculating on the missing link in tying the Lengnau resident Guggenheim families to Stühlingen.[13]

Berkowitch and Stein then shared their expertise in connecting the Guggenheims of Frankfurt a/M to the Guggenheims of Stühlingen/Lengnau. The Wollmershäuser discoveries led them to the conclusion that Joseph (Josef von Jugenheim) Guggenheim (abt. 1555-1614) of Frankfurt a/M was the likely progenitor of the Guggenheim families of Lengnau and Endingen (see Figure 2).[14] These data also placed two sons of Joseph, Jakob (Yeckhoff) and Schmuli, in Stühlingen. Stein and Berkowitch suggest that Jakob was the likely father of Schaul Meir and that Schmuli was probably the head of household of the Copper-Guggenheim branch.

In the descendant chart for Schmuli (see Figure 3) we offer two divergent hypotheses

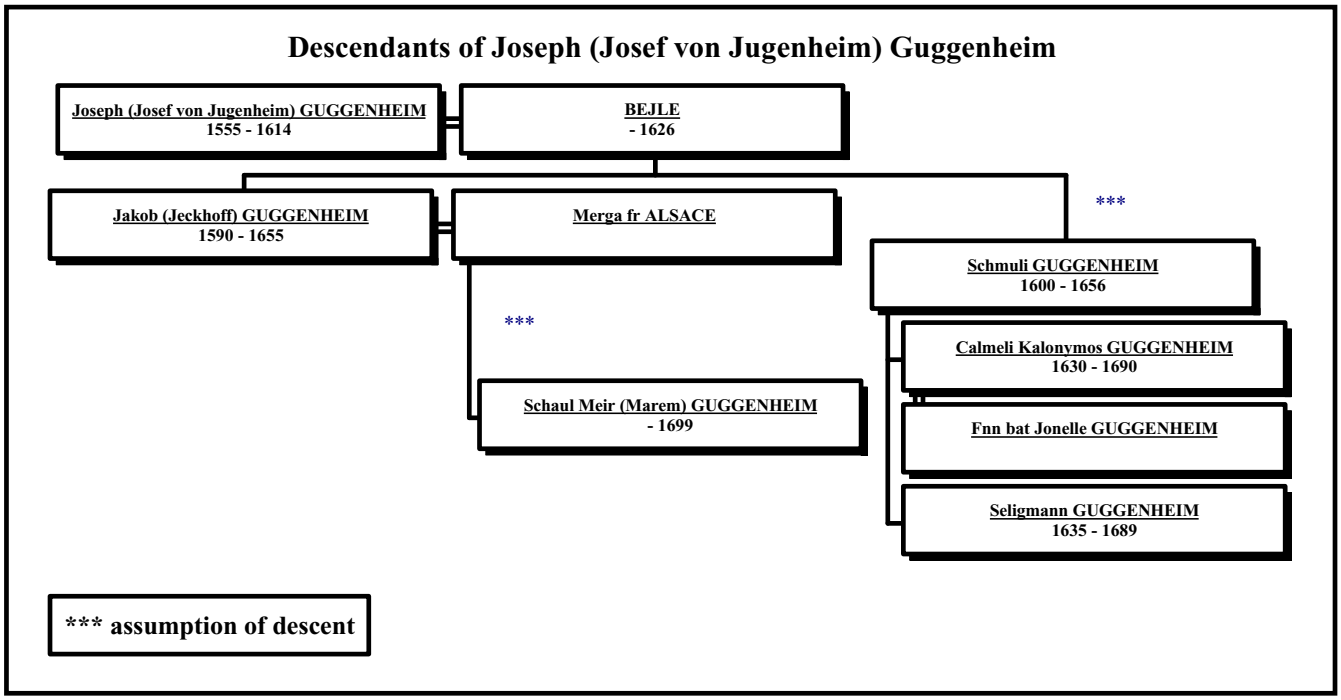


Figure 2

reached by Stein and Berkowitch regarding the descent to Sissel/Sisseli. Stein assumes that Sissel is the great-grandson of Schmuli, arguing that the former's son, Jacob (b. 1703), was named for Sissel's father Jacob (Yeckhoff, sometimes Jaekoff) who died after 1696. On the other hand, Berkowitch concluded that Seligmann (a presumed secularization of the Hebraic name Salomon), the son of Schmuli, may be the father of Sisseli, since the latter had a son Salomon who most likely was named after Seligmann. Neither of these

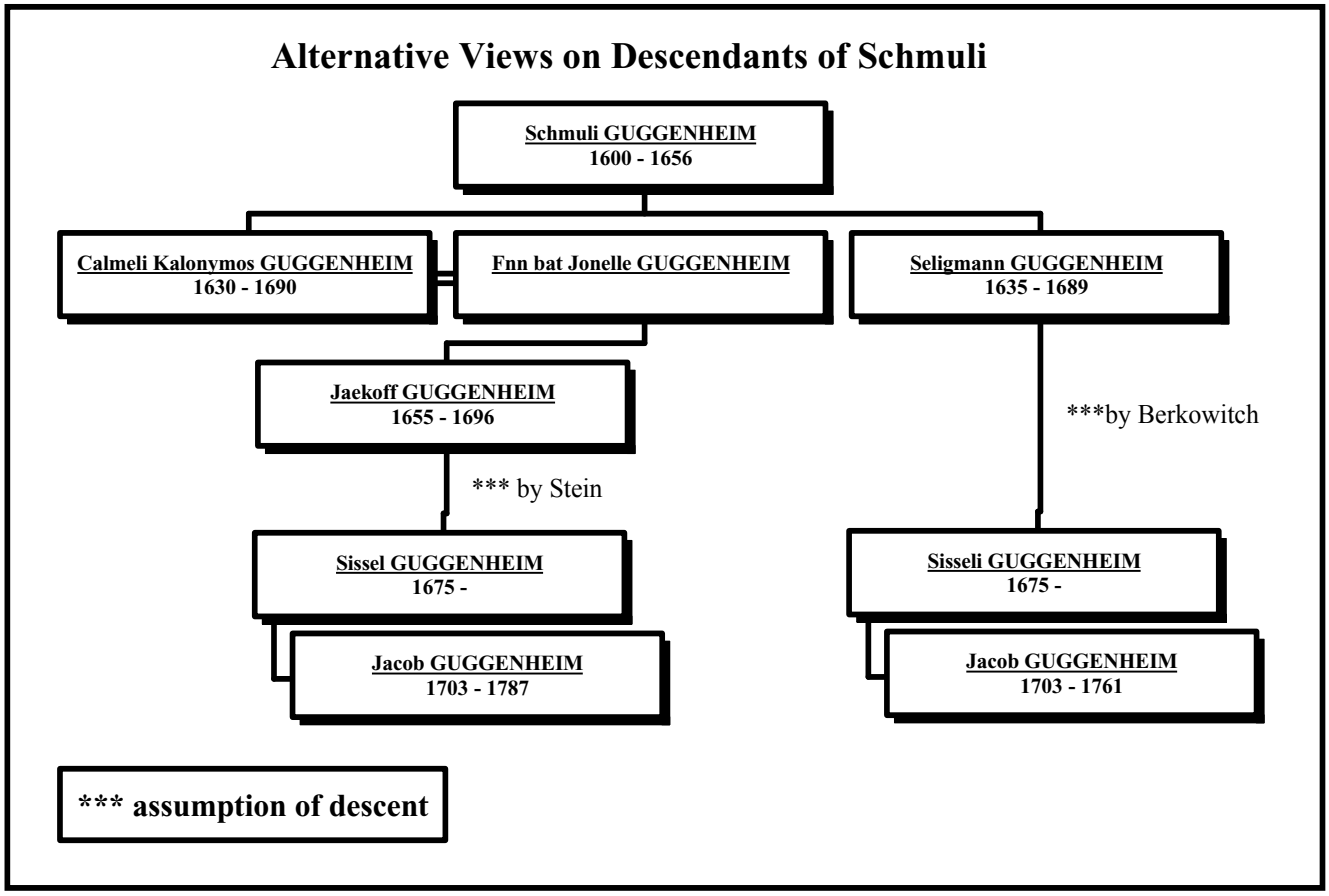


Figure 3

speculations is authoritative but both agree that there is an ancestral tie of Sissel/Sisseli to Schmuli, the uncle of Schaul Meir. Thus we plausibly have resolved the issue of how the Copper-Guggenheim branch may be related to the five founding Guggenheim families of Lengnau.

We now turn to the Copper-Guggenheim saga as represented in the various published biographies (not necessarily oriented to genealogy) and note shortcomings of these volumes with respect to reflecting the family's origin.

Biographies of the Copper-Guggenheim family published in the U.S.A

The following books relate the Guggenheim story in America:

- 1937, Harvey O'Connor: *The Guggenheims, the Making of an American Dynasty*. [15]
- 1964, Milton Lomask: *Seed Money, the Guggenheim Story*. [16]
- 1967, Edwin P. Hoyt, Jr.: *The Guggenheims and the American Dream.* [17]
- 1967, Stephen Birmingham: *Our Crowd, the Great Jewish Families of New York.* [18]
- 1978, John H. Davis: *The Guggenheims, an American Epic*.[19]
- 2005, Irwin and Debi Unger: *The Guggenheims, a Family History* (see note 1).

These six treatments resemble each other in both content and structure. The earliest

12
Friedrich Wollmershäuser was engaged in this research by Werner L. Frank on whose behalf he was investigating the presence in Stühlingen of descendants of Rabbi Jakob Weil, the Mahari"v. This effort also identified members of the Guggenheim family. Wollmershäuser further pursued this research in the archives of the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe and the archives of Grafschaft Nellenburg [Nellenburg County].

book by O'Connor (1937) was written too early to tell the story of the Guggenheim family during World War II, while the Ungers' book does a superb catch-up on the events since the period 1964-1978.[20] What is common to all these volumes is the repetition of misunderstandings relating to the origin of the family. In this article we note the significant advances made in the field of genealogy in the last two decades which are not reflected in even the most recent biography by the Ungers.

The 1937 volume by O'Connor (see endnote 15) sets the base from which the Copper-Guggenheim biographies have been built. There are no sources, no bibliography and no footnotes in this treatise. In Chapter 1, "Swiss Family Guggenheim," we briefly learn the family's early history: life in Europe was difficult for the second class Jew; ghettos were the environment in which Jews lived; the ancestors of the Guggenheims may have come from the village Guggenheimb on the Bergstrasse near Heidelberg; a Jakob Guggenheim (likely son of Maram, der jud Guggenheimb von Lengnau) is a key player in the Lengnau community; Meyer Guggenheim, founder of the Copper-Guggenheim dynasty, is recognized [incorrectly] as a descendant of this Jakob;[21] a Simon Guggenheim is introduced and later identified as the father of Meyer; Samuel, a brother of Simon, rescues two children from a burning house; widower Simon is refused permission to marry widow Rachel in Lengnau, so with their combined families they immigrate to the United States where they subsequently marry.[22] O'Connor provides no vital dates with respect to the cited personalities and the family connections are blurred. Hence, the historical description has no genealogical value, and some of the contents, including errors, heavily influenced later authors.

Lengnau and Endingen were no ghettos

Possibly the most authoritative biography about the Guggenheims is the 1974 book by Lomask (see endnote 16). His notes attest to the attention he gave sources, including Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg's two articles cited above, as well as his personal visit to the Lengnau area in Switzerland and interviews with local experts. However, the first chapter, "In Switzerland's Green Ghettos," casts a misunderstanding of the situation prevailing among 18th century Swiss Jews. He states that "in 1740 Lengnau and Ober-Endingen, or Endingen as it is now known, were the ghettos of Switzerland." Was this an expansion of O'Connor's notion of the harsh Jewish life in Europe?

A ghetto has historically been a term associated with an oppressive and restricted walled-off area in which Jews were forced to live in squalor and under curfew regulations.[23] In Lengnau and Endingen Jews and gentiles lived next to each other throughout the villages. There was no Judenstrasse [Jewish Street]. Of course, Jews could only settle in these villages if they possessed the necessary Schutzbrief (protection letter issued by the ruling Landvogt [Governor] of Baden) for which an annual payment was required. And there were strict limitations on what modifications could be made to their homes. Jews and gentiles could not live under the same roof, a ruling mitigated by having two side-by-side entrances to a house, one for the Jewish and one for the gentile occupant; in essence creating a duplex as we would call such structures today.

In 1804, when Simon Meyer Guggenheim was twelve years old, there were 392 Jews and 645 gentiles living in Lengnau. In 1837, there lived in Endingen more Jews than Christians. In 1850 the Jewish population was approximately half of the total inhabitants of these villages. The sole synagogue in each location dominated the scene. Endingen did not even have a church. Lengnau and Endingen were certainly not ghettos in the usual sense of the word.

Yet, each of the successive biographies repeated the O'Connor and Lomask ghetto

13
Peter Stein, "Die Juden von Stühlingen – Guggenheim," [Jews of Stühlingen – Guggenheim], *Maajan*, Heft 68, September 2003.ibid, "Die Juden von Stühlingen – Guggenheim, Teil 2," [Jews of Stühlingen – Guggenheim, Part 2], *Maajan*, Heft 69, December 2003.

Front facade of the Jewish synagogue in Endingen. (Photo by W. Frank)

Front facade of the Jewish synagogue in Lengnau . (Photo by W. Frank)

14
The reader must be cautioned that this descendant chart is a best effort on the part of Stein and Berkowitch since no archival documents have been identified which support an unbroken family line from Worms or Frankfurt a/M to Lengnau. Berkowitch's research has even hypothesized the

characterization. Hoyt (see endnote 17), whose book has no notes or references other than remarking on his dependency for the prior O'Connor and Lomask biographies, states that "the principality of Baden continued to accept Jews, not as citizens, but as supplicants…. pushed into ghettos."

Birmingham (see endnote 18) does not mention "ghetto." His book is devoid of sources and notes, relying primarily for his content on the biographies of O'Connor and Lomask.

Davis (see endnote 19) has a more complete and independent approach. He provides excellent genealogical tables for the American-based Copper-Guggenheim, plus good sources, notes and a bibliography which shows reference to the work of Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg. His first chapter has the title "Out of the Ghetto," but does not make much of a point of this in relationship to Lengnau and Endingen except for the single phrase that "these two villages of the Surb valley …became ghettos for the whole of Switzerland."[24]

The Unger biography (see endnote 1) is silent on the subject of ghettos. There are good endnotes to back up the text except for Chapter 1, "Beginnings," which only references the work of Lomask but none of the recent work in genealogy that touches on the ancestry of the Copper-Guggenheim family.

The origin of the Guggenheim Family

Both O'Connor and Lomask agree that the Guggenheim family must at some point in their early wanderings have settled in the German village near Heidelberg called Guggenheimb (today Seeheim-Jugenheim). Birmingham ignores this topic in its entirety.

Davis believes the Guggenheim origin to be Guggenheimb, "a small town in northwestern Bavaria, now Jugenheim."[25] He overstates his case without pointing to a source: "The supposition that America's greatest [sic] Jewish family originally came from this small south German town rests upon the undisputed fact that Jews in Germany were not given surnames during the Middle Ages and, in the Renaissance, when they were required to have them, they were forced [sic] to take the name of the town in which they lived."

The Unger authors fall in line with Davis concerning the incorrectly named Bavarian origin of the Guggenheims. Since this biography was published in 2005, it is a pity that the authors did not take into consideration the contemporary research on the Guggenheims by Stein and Berkowitch, nor the readily available website of Seeheim-Jugenheim [see http://www.hessennet.de/seeheim-jugenheim].

Who is Jacob versus Jakob?

Lomask identifies Jakob Guggenheim, Parnas of the Lengnau community in the early eighteenth century, as a prominent figure. Lomask has added significant data about this Jakob over what was presented in the O'Connor treatise. Much is known about this Jakob because of his dealings with the well-known pastor Johann Caspar Ulrich and because his son Joseph was converted by this pastor to the Protestant religion. This Jakob (abt 1670- 1741) was the son of Schaul Meir. Unfortunately, Lomask sets an erroneous path for succeeding authors by concluding that this Jakob is the same Jacob [note our differentiation of k and c in the names] that appears in the earlier cited descendant chart for the Copper-Guggenheim. The second generation shown in that chart identifies a different Jacob Guggenheim (1703-1787), son of Sisseli.

This mix-up derives from the multiple presence of identical given names (e.g. Jacob/Jakob, Moses, Salomon, Meyer, Isaac) due to the tradition among Jews in naming children

ancestral line from Josef von Jugenheim to reach further back by four more generations to the fifteenth century.

15
Harvey O'Connor, *The Guggenheims, the Making of an American Dynasty*, Covici, N.Y., 1937, 496.

16
Milton Lomask, *Seed Money: the Guggenheim Story,* Farrar, Straus & Company, N.Y., 1964, 307

17
Edwin Palmer Hoyt, *The Guggenheims and the American Dream*, Funk, N.Y., 1967, 382.

18
Stephen Birmingham, "*Our Crowd," The Great Jewish Families of New York*, Harper & Row, N.Y., 1967, 404.

19
John H. Davis, *Guggenheims, An American Epic*, William Morrow & Company, N.Y. 1978, 608.

20
Such an event was the one-time Guggenheim family reunion in November 1984 which brought together around one-hundred descendants for a celebration held in the Guggenheim Museum in New York City.

21
The strong basis for denying such descent of the Copper-Guggenheim branch is the 1741 inheritance certificate of this Jakob which clearly

after the most recently deceased ancestor, typically grandparents. Thus it is easy to confuse the parentage of cousins who bear the same given name. Davis compounds this error by emphatically stating without proof that "in 1702, a certain Jacob Guggenheim, authenticated ancestor of the American branch, was brought to court for illegally owning the house of Maran Guggenheimb." The Ungers multiply the problem by asserting that the wrongly identified Jacob and Siseli are either sons or grandsons of Schaul Meir. They were, neither.

The matter of Old Icicle

The repetition of first names and the early lack of surnames can lead to strange outcomes as illustrated by Isaac (1723-1806). His name was translated to Icicle through a circuitous route which is attributable in part to authors who may have known German but not the local dialect, a German version of Yiddish, known as jidisch-daitsch.[26] The pivotal missing knowledge is the use of diminutives, often having an affectionate flavor.

Lomask is caught in this conundrum by incorrectly identifying the Copper-Guggenheim ancestor Isaac (1723-1806), a man who acquired his wealth through money lending. First of all, this Isaac is mistakenly deemed to be the son of the wrong Jakob (see prior paragraph). More significantly, Isaac is dealt a translation blow which links his German nickname of Alt-Isäckli (as recorded in the Register of Citizens of Lengnau) or as Alt-Aisikle (as spelled by Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg) to the English equivalent of Old-Icicle. Lomask allows his imagination to then take shape and ventures that the Lengnau townspeople must have considered him "stern of demeanor" since they called him "Old Icicle" instead of "Old Isaac." Here is where a little skill in the local vernacular comes to play. A name like Isäckli or Aisikle is really an endearing diminutive, evoking relatively warm, not icy feelings.

Lomask attempts to cast an Old Icicle shadow on the future Copper-Guggenheim entrepreneurs through this metaphor. The succeeding biographers did even a better job in giving this impression. Birmingham attributes to this Isaac a "stern and frosty manner" while Davis considers him a "pitiless moneylender all his life." The Ungers go all out in letting the nickname Old Icicle reflect a "dour but enterprising man" who "seemed to approach the harsh cliché of the Jewish usurer that Shakespeare made eponymous as Shylock." Perhaps we can give Hoyt some credit since he only refers to Isaac and not his nickname.

What really brings home the impact of this failure in translation by Lomask, and its subsequent adoption by the other authors, is the German version of Davis' book, *Die Guggenheims, von Raubrittern zu Menschenfreunden*, published in 1978 by SV International /Schweizer Verlagshaus. We found in this volume a faithful translation of our Isaac's Anglicized nickname of Old Icicle as "der alte Eiszapfen" [the Old Icicle]. This clearly defies the aphorism "What goes around, comes around."

The role of Joseph

Joseph, the son of Jakob and grandson of Schaul Meir was converted by Pastor Johann Caspar Ulrich. Hoyt assumed erroneously that this Joseph and Jakob were ancestors of the Copper-Guggenheims. He concludes that "Joseph's loss of the old faith was an augury, for in later years the Guggenheims would drift away from the religion of their fathers"even though Joseph was not in their direct line of ascent. Both Birmingham and Davis also incorrectly cite the Joseph story as an event in the line of ascent of the Copper-Guggenheim. Birmingham goes even further by compounding the error and making him the brother of Isaac (Old Icicle).

does not identify a son named Isak/Isaac.

22
Other authors state that the marriage took place before embarking for the U.S.A.

23
The term ghetto was first used in 1516 to describe the mandatory Jewish quarter in Venice, Italy.

24
There were historically three "Baden" jurisdictions in Western Europe. One was the Grand Duchy of Baden in southwest Germany (which became the state of Baden and is now part of the state of Baden-Württemberg) and two were located in what is today's Switzerland. North of Zurich is (1) the town of Baden and (2) the territory of Grafschaft Baden [Baden County]. This Grafschaft [county] was conquered in 1425 by the eight confederated Swiss cantons which subsequently administered it and appointed a governor [Landvogt]. Lengnau and Endingen were located in this Grafschaft. After the French Revolution the area achieved its freedom and in 1803 became the Swiss canton of Aargau. In 1866, Jews of Switzerland were awarded equal rights, including the right to settle freely.

25
The notion that Jugenheim was once in "northwestern Bavaria" is incorrect. Jugenheim was a holding of

When did Rachel marry Simon?

All of the authors touch on the romance of widower Simon Meyer Guggenheim and widow Rachel Weil Meyer who sought to marry in 1847, but faced objections of the authorities. This leads to the controversy regarding the time and location of the wedding. Guggenheim-Grünberg and O'Connor, Lomask and Birmingham agree that the event took place before the couple left Lengnau for the United States even though such a union does not appear in the citizens' register of the village. On the other hand, Hoyt, Davis and the Ungers conclude that the marriage took place in Philadelphia after their arrival. Given the mores of those days, it is more likely that a family traveling together with 12 children would be married, although not necessarily in their (former) hometown.

The role of Samuel

The Ungers seized upon the heroic story of Samuel, brother of Isaac, the Old Icicle. Samuel became a hero because he rescued two gentile children from a burning house. This event was later memorialized on a plaque in the Copper-Guggenheim Board Room in New York City. The Ungers apparently thought this was quite tacky of the Guggenheim's to honor a great-uncle and concluded (on page 7 of their biography) with the editorial comment: "Is it stretching interpretation too far to see this gesture as an attempt by the later Guggenheims to trump the image of their ancestors as self-absorbed and timid people only capable of furthering their own material advantage?" This remark is in keeping with their interpretation of the incorrect labeling of Isaac as Old Icicle.

Conclusion

It is disappointing that the many literary efforts in telling the Copper-Guggenheim story have failed to illuminate the family's origin. Early publications can be forgiven since the techniques of genealogical research had not yet taken form. However, any serious work of the twenty-first century must take into account the strides that have taken place with respect to identifying and understanding family history. As illustrated here, the Unger authors had every opportunity to correct the earlier deficiencies and errors with respect to the origin of the Guggenheim family.[27] Simply repeating what was said seventy years in the past is not scholarship.

Cover of circumcision pillow displayed at the Jewish Museum in Basel with inscription of ownership by Lehmann (Yehuda) Weil (1709-1788) and Rachel Guggenheim (1706-1783), the latter granddaughter of Saul Meir (Maram) Guggenheim. (photo by W. Frank)

the Grafen von Erbach since the fourteenth century. Later the area was given over to the Landgrafen von Hessen-Darmstadt. In modern times, Jugenheim has been part of the State of Hesse. In January 1977, the town was officially joined with neighboring Seeheim and is today known as Seeheim-Jugenheim.

26
Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg, "Die Sprache der Schweizer Juden von Endingen und Lengnau," Verlag Jüdische Buch-Gemeinde, Zürich. This monograph reflects a lecture presented on 26 April 1950.

27
Another gross error by the Ungers is stating the birth year of Meyer, son of Old Isaac, to be 1775, (p.7). This was the year of his marriage as clearly stated in Davis ,(p.43).

THE MOHEL BOOK OF HUERBEN/KRUMBACH: 1800-1837

— RALPH BLOCH

Introduction

Prior to the 19th century, Jews in Central and Western Europe lived separately from the gentile world. Barred from social contact with Christians by their own religious practice as well as by those of their Christian counterparts, Jews lived in their own society and administered their own community affairs[1]. Consequently, civil authorities had a vague and distorted perspective on Jewish life, manifested by a relative paucity of authentic primary records of interest to genealogists. Official registries of Jews (*Juden Matrikel*) may be biased, since people might have feared punitive measures for not using civil names.

Although many records from the internal archives of Jewish communities have been lost in wars and, above all, by wanton destruction during the Holocaust, there is a substantial amount of material that has remained in tact. The surviving documents are for the most part scattered throughout many archives and private collections around the world. Of particular interest to Jewish genealogists are the records of burial societies (Chevra Kaddisha), circumcision records (Mohel books) and marriage contracts (Ketuboth).

A Mohel is an observant Jew who has learned the technique and ritual of circumcision as an apprentice to a practising Mohel. The Mohel is supposed to perform his service not as a business venture but as a charitable act. In small German towns, Mohels usually plied a traditional trade or profession to earn their sustenance. Besides his actual circumcision instruments, his implements included the Mohel book which contained the required blessings and prayers in the front, followed by blank pages or labelled fields to record every circumcision performed.

In contrast to church records, Mohel books remain the property of the Mohel rather than of the community. Accordingly, Mohel books have been kept by families as personal property. Mohel books, however, have a somewhat limited genealogical value, since they only document boys who were circumcised. Although rare, nevertheless, these books afford an intimate insight into the Jewish communities of their time.

These circumcision records contain the date of each circumcision, the given name of the boy, the name of the father and usually, dependent on the period, his patronymic or civil name. There is also a rubric for the godparents) (sandakim)[2] and another for general remarks.

1
Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto; The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 19-23.

2
In some traditions the role of the sandak seems to be more ritual than social; in others, both sandak and godparent had distinct roles.

The author has been researching his maternal ancestry from the little Bavarian town of Huerben/Krumbach for years. The transcript of a Mohel book from Huerben for the period of 1800-1837 was tracked down through the online catalogue of the Leo Baeck Institute, and copied there.This article summarizes the results of a critical analysis of the Huerben Mohel transcript in the context of the available literature.

Though unified into a single municipality in 1902, Krumbach and Huerben, situated in Bavarian Swabia some 60 kilometers east of Munich, started as two separate communities. Documented records first mention Krumach, a market town in 1156, and Huerben, an adjacent village, in 1106.[3]

Krumbach and Huerben were part of the margraviate of Burgau. After 1559, the margraviate was under the direct authority of the Hapsburg line and administered by local sheriffs. But the day-to-day control rested largely with the local gentry, vested religious institutions and municipal governments. The delicate balance of influence between the various levels of power provided the Jews with leverage to secure their precarious existence. Ultimately, it was fiscal expediency rather than tolerance that permitted Jews to settle in the margraviate.[4] Evidence indicates that Jews were in Huerben in 1580.[5] According to a contested interpretation, the first Jews might even have settled as early as 1504.[6]

In 1699/1700, officials collected a Jews' tax from 22 households in Huerben. By 1759, 50 Jewish families paid this protection tax.[7] The Jewish population had grown to 421 in 1811 and 484 in 1820, reaching its apex in 1840 with 652 inhabitants.[8] From that point, the Jewish population in Huerben declined steadily because of emigration. Most of the remaining Jews in Huerben emigrated during the Nazi era. The 12 Jewish inhabitants who remained in 1942 became victims of the Holocaust; they were deported and murdered in Piaski, Poland.[9]

Jewish life in Huerben was greatly affected by historical and political developments. The period from 1800 to 1837 covered by the Mohel book was probably the most significant period in German-Jewish history, apart from the Holocaust.

The end of the 18th century in Krumbach and Huerben has been characterized as a conservative and rather corrupt governance. Apart from military requisitions and draft, the village remained relatively untouched by political upheavals until 1800 when the passage of both Austrian and French troops resulted in pillage, plunder, rape, conflagrations, famine and pestilence.[10]

Following Austria's defeat at Ulm on 20 October 1805 and at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, the French forced Austria to sign the Treaty of Pressburg. Among the provisions, the treaty called for the elector of Bavaria, an ally of Napoleon, to be elevated to the rank of king, and the margraviate of Burgau to be passed from Austria to Bavaria. The treaty brought Huerben under the influence of the reforms promoted by Maximilian Joseph von Montgelas, as anticipated in his "Ansbacher Mémoire" of 1796.[11] The reforms promised tolerance and emancipation and gave hope to the Jews.

The year 1813 brought not only the Peace of Ried, wherein Bavaria switched its allegiance to Napoleon's enemies, but also the "Jews' Laws" (Judenedikt) of June 10, 1813. The "Judenedikt" was a mixed blessing for Bavaria's Jews. It brought them freedom of religion, free choice of occupation and access to universities (although not government employment); on the other hand, it also tightened the laws regarding residential registries with restricted rights to settle (Judenmatrikel) and, in 1817, led to a prohibition of peddling — a major source of Jewish livelihood.[12] Requirements to take on civil names, compulsory education and a limitation of cultural autonomy were lesser encumbrances.

As a consequence of the ban on peddling, young Jewish males left Bavaria by the hundreds to seek their fortune in the New World. Of the nine sons surviving into adulthood

3
Georg Kreuzer, *Krumbach im Mittelalter und zu Beginn der frühenNeuzeit*. Kreuzer G., Schmid A., Wüst W. (eds). Krumbach 1993; Band I: 46.

4
Sabine Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft und Konkurrenz : Juden und Christen in Dörfern der Markgrafschaft Burgau 1650 bis 1750* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,1999),46-60.

5
Bosch E. personal communication. Two Jews Salomon and David were mentioned as house owners in property registers dating back to 1580 (1580 Urbar).

6
Herbert Auer, personal communication in regard to the exhibition "500 Years of Jewish Presence," 2004.

7
Wolfgang Wüst , *Krumbach: die Epoche zwischen Dreissigjährigem Krieg und dem Ende des alten Reichs.* Kreuzer G., Schmid A., Wüst W. (eds). Krumbach 1993; Vol. I: 80.

8
Alfons Schmidt, K*rumbach uner bayerischer Herrschaft vom Jahre 1805 bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs*. Kreuzer G., Schmid A., Wüst W. (eds). Krumbach 1993; Band I: 212.

9
Barbara Sallinger, *Krumbach im Dritten Reich.* Kreuzer G., Schmid A., Wüst W. (eds). Krumbach 1993; Band II: 91.

10
Heinrich Bücheler , Werner Fischer , Roland Kessinger, *Die Schlacht bei Messkirch 5. Mai 1800.* (Gedenkband zum 200. Jahrestag.) Gmeiner-Verlag 2000.

11
"Mémoire présenté à M(onsei)g(neu)r le Duc le 30 Septembre 1796", eigenhändiges Manuskript des Maximilian Joseph von Montgelas. Translation into German : Oliver Zeidler from transcripts by Eberhard Weis in ZBLG 33 (1970), S. 243 bis 256.

12
Anonym, Einige Aeusserungen in der Kammer der Abgeordneten in Baiern, die Verhältnisse der dortigen Israeliten betreffend. Sulamith 1817 – 1820: pp. 334 -339.

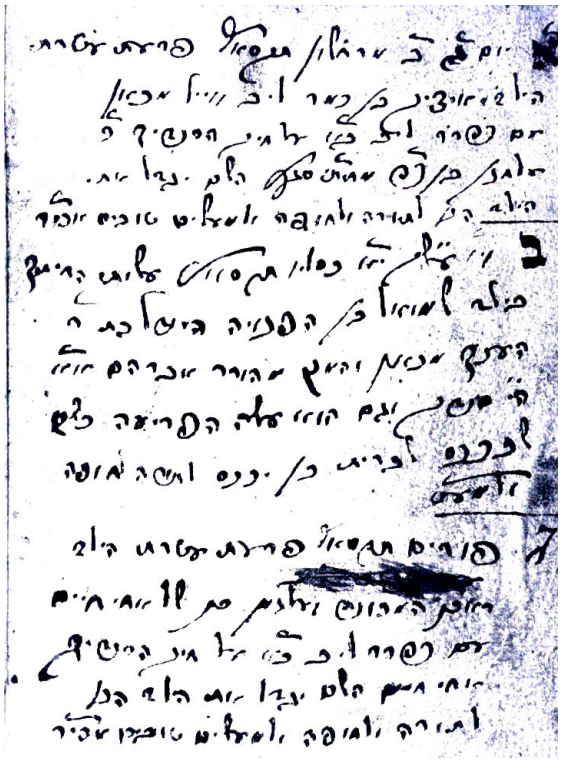
of the author's great-great-great-grandfather Abraham Guggenheimer, eight emigrated to North America. When the last formal restrictions on Jewish residence were finally removed in 1861, Jews moved from the rural areas to towns and cities in droves.

The Mohel Book

The Mohel transcript forms part of the LBI "Jacobson Collection". Jacob Jacobson was born in Schrimm (now Srem, Poland) on November 27, 1888. Jacobson was a historian and archivist, as well as director of the "Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden" from 1920 to 1939. He survived the Holocaust after being deported to the Theresienstadt ghetto in 1943, and emigrated to Great Britain in 1945. He died in Bad Neuenahr on May 31, 1968. Jacobson's extensive collection of records of Jewish communities in Central Europe, including memorial books, correspondence, minutes, financial records, censuses, vital registers, Mohel books, and cemetery lists from some 60 different towns and villages in pre-World War I Germany, lacks system, but is all he could rescue; a moving testimony to the wealth of documents lost through the Holocaust.

The transcript, recorded by an unknown researcher (possibly a descendant of the Mohel) in the late 19th or early 20th century, was written partially in old German fraktur script and partially in Latin script. Generally, names and dates were written in Latin script whereas titles, designations, professions and remarks were written in fraktur script.

Annotations and marginal notes by the anonymous transcriber suggest that he or she might still have known many of the persons listed in the Mohel book. A copy of the original Hebrew text is also a part of the Jacobson Collection. It was written in a well practiced Hebrew script which is often difficult to decipher in the copy. Besides the demographic data, which makes up the German transcript, it also contains individual blessings – often with standard acronyms - and short, stereotypical surgical details. The mohel seems to have been quite fluent in Hebrew. Throughout, the Hebrew calendar was used, although the transcriber attempted to convert some entries into Gregorian dates. The transcriber had also added marginal notes and other annotations with a red pencil, which were lost through the microfilming process and could not be distinguished in the black-and-white copies.



A copy of the opening entries of the original Hebrew script from the Mohel Book of Huerben/Krumbach

The transcript consists of a title page with table of contents, 15 pages containing 237 numbered entries, an index by name of the father and an index by godparent. Altogether, the Mohel book consists of 20 pages copied from a microfilm with less than perfect focus and contrast.

The title page identifies the Mohel as "Salomon, son of Samuel Schweizer, later known under the family name of Guggenheimer", 1761–1848. In Herbert Auer's Guggenheimer family tree it is also noted that Salomon's father Samuel had adopted the family name 'Guggenheimer' with the explicit permission of the district court.[13] In the Krumbach property register of 1836[14], Salomon is listed as merchant ("Handelsmann"). He had purchased the lot in 1800 and built a new house, suggesting that he was reasonably well off. He and his wife Eva Kahn had nine children of their own, including a son Joachim/Chaim whom he circumcised personally.

Every entry is numbered sequentially from 1 to 237. One entry

was blank. This is followed by the abbreviated German weekday, the Hebrew date, name and sometimes alias ("genannt") of the boy, given name(s) of the father, patronymic or civil name and names of godparent(s). Date and name entries were not always complete. There were occasional remarks added by the Mohel for uncommon occurrences. The transcriber added full civil names where he could and calculated Gregorian date to many entries. As well, some names had acronyms added by the transcriber, which could not be interpreted.

Method

The content of the transcript was read using a x4 magnifying glass. Images were digitally scanned and magnified when difficulties arose. A variety of script models were used for comparison.[15] Eventually, with the exception of two words, the whole document could be deciphered.

The content of the transcript was entered in a Microsoft Excel table and transferred to a Microsoft Access database. The Hebrew calendar dates were converted to Gregorian calendar dates using 'Kaluach3' software . Similarly, the day of the week was calculated from the Gregorian date using the 'weekday()' routine of VBA.

Descriptive statistics were computed by means of appropriate SQL expressions. For some time-series involving small numbers, weighted averages were calculated at each point using the weighting function (0.1, 0.2, 0.4, 0.2, 0.1).

To determine the circumcision ratio, i.e. the fraction of newborn Jewish boys actually circumcised, the number of Jewish male births for each year was extracted from the Krumbach Jewish birth register.[16]

An unpaired t-test was used to compare the circumcision rate and ratio during the period 1807– 1817 with the rest of the data.

Results

Of the 236 boys, 210 were given a traditional Hebrew biblical name at their circumcision, 17 received a Yiddish form of a biblical name and nine had Yiddish, non-biblical names. Besides the official Hebrew name, 110 boys received a second, common

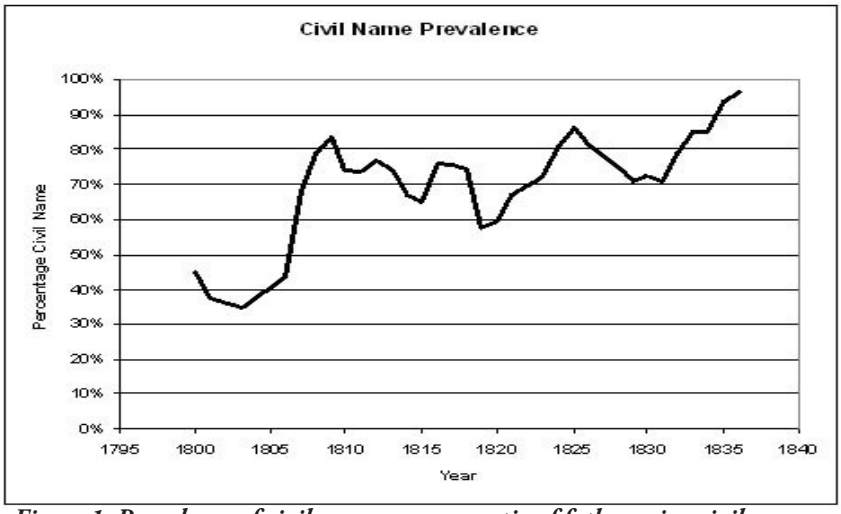


Figure 1. Prevalence of civil name usage as ratio of father using civil name vs. total of circumcisions per year.

13
Herbert Auer, personal communication in regard to the exhibition "500 Years Jewish Presence," 2004.

14
Kataster, StAA: RA Krumbach, Nr.223/I-II, 1836.

15
http://kindredroots.com/library/germanletters_caps.htm, http://kindredroots.com/library/germanletters_lc.htm

16
Bosch, Matrikel 1784; Staatsarchiv Augsburg, Israelitisches Standesregister Schwaben, Hürben-Krumbach 1784 – 1875; transcribed by E. Bosch, Noerdlingen, 2006; personal communication.

name ('also known as'). Often, this was the Yiddish equivalent of their Hebrew name or a common association such as Naftali/Hirsch or Juda/Arje/Löb/Leopold (biblical symbols). Others were based on alliterations such as Mordechai/Marx, Mordechai/Max or Ascher/Anselm. A very common association existed between Chaim and the common Bavarian name Joachim, which is actually derived from the biblical Jehoyakim (Kings II:23).

The period covered by the Mohel book encompasses a shift from predominantly patronymic to almost exclusive civil surnames (Figure 1.).

Of the fathers without civil names, 10 were labelled as 'foreigners' ("Ortsfremd"). No designated foreigner actually did have a recorded civil name. It appears that civil name usage had reached 75% by about 1807, well ahead of 1813, when civil name use became compulsory.

Altogether, 78 fathers were not originally recorded with a civil name. Place names from Burgau communities accounted for 32 individuals; other place names with established Jewish presence were used by 96 fathers; tribal Jewish names were used by eight and other, not particularly Jewish names, by 22 fathers. Spelling of surnames showed great variability. Different spelling was often used for the same individual. Examples are Guggenheim/Guggenheimer, Milhausen/Milhauser/Mühlhauser and Buttenwieser/Bottewis/Boddewis.

In order to test for internal consistency of both the original Mohel book and its transcription, recorded week days were compared to week days calculated from the Hebrew date. For 144 circumcisions, the week days were identical. For 54 occasions the week day differed by ± 1 day, for 26 by ± 2 days and for 12 by ± 3 days. In view of the complexity of the Hebrew calendar, this is not a bad agreement. Five circumcisions were recorded out of chronological sequence.

Birth and circumcision dates were compared using the Huerben Jewish "Geburtsbuch."[17] There were a total of 362 male births during the period covered by the Mohel book. This includes a number of boys who died shortly after birth. For 179 boys, the records could be matched using a three-item rule (from father's surname and given name, boy's given name and date within 10 days, at least three items per record had to correspond). Of those, 126 boys had full birth and circumcision dates recorded. Results are shown as a histogram (Figure 2).

The ritual eight-day rule apparently applied for about 60 percent of the boys. Surprisingly, however, almost as many boys appear to have been circumcised before they were born as after. This strongly suggests recording or transcription errors. In fact, in most deviant records, the month of circumcision was substituted for the birth day.

Many records from the Mohel book don't even have a partial match in the birth registry and vice versa. Possible reasons for this will be discussed later.

The comparison between the Mohel book and the birth registry on a year by year basis reveals another interesting trend (Figure 3.)

Between 1807 and 1817 there was almost one circumcision

17
Bosch, Matrikel 1784; Staatsarchiv Augsburg, Israelitisches Standesregister Schwaben, Hürben-Krumbach 1784 – 1875; transcribed by E. Bosch, Noerdlingen, 2006; personal communication.

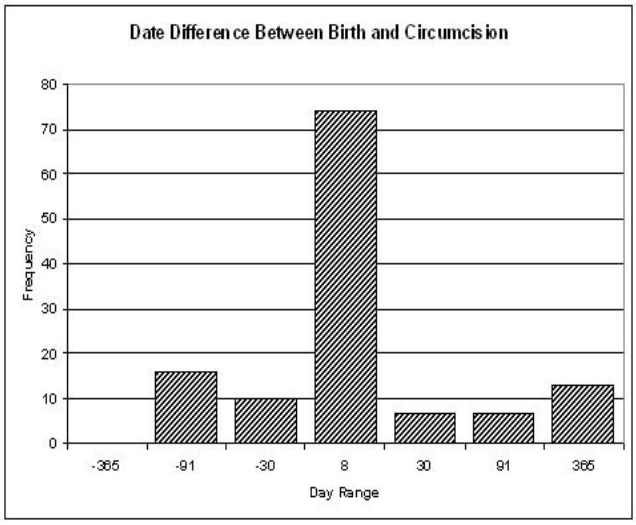


Figure 2. Distribution of number of days between birth and circumcision.

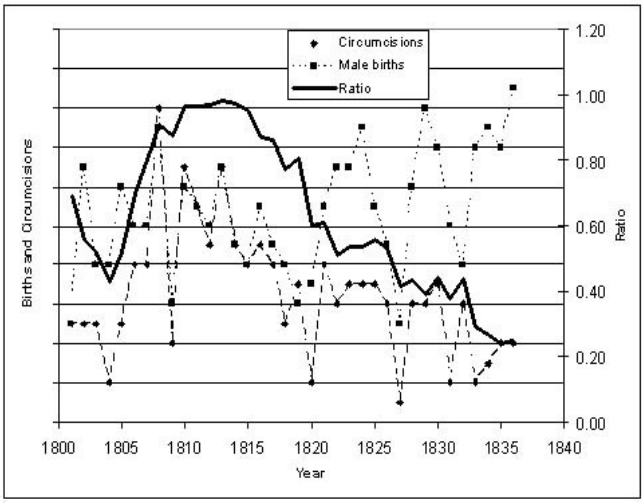


Figure 3. Circumcision ratio over the 37 years.

for every male birth. Over the next 20 years this ratio declined from almost 100% to 20%. The circumcision ratio between 1807 and 1817 was significantly higher than during the rest of the period ($p < 0.05$).

In regards to the godparents ("Gevatter"), an interesting development becomes apparent as well. Altogether, for 14 boys no godparents are listed; 172 boys have a single godparent; 49 have two godparents and one boy has three godparents. In those boys with multiple godparents a pattern emerges: almost all multiple godparents occur after 1823. One godparent tended to be a family member or a person of respect while the other is usually referred to only by a nickname. Of those, 'Gumps' appears 13 times, 'Leiser ' (Levite) 10 times, 'Schamsche ' eight times and 'Leiser' seven times.

The 'Remarks' column adds some revealing spotlights. One boy had his circumcision on the same day his mother was buried. Another was born six months after the death of his father. Those two are the only parental deaths mentioned. Based on historical peri-natal mortality in the early 19th century, a maternal mortality of 1 in 236 appears amazingly low. For one boy, the Mohel observed: "This child was born already circumcised". Presumably, this is a case of mild hypospadias[18]

In one entry (1813) the Mohel commented: "On this day after the Synagogue I said 'Mekadesh Hachama', blessing the sun". (It should properly have been called 'Birkat Hachama'). This points out that the Mohel had access to an actualized but not accurate Hebrew calendar, since this observance is only held every 28 years. The Hebrew date of the circumcision was 6. Nisan 5573, whereas Birkat Hachama should have been celebrated on 7 of Nisan. A further circumcision in 1819 coincided with the consecration of the new Huerben synagogue.

Five circumcisions were performed on sons of unmarried mothers. An additional extramarital birth could be found in the birth registry but not in the Mohel book. One woman gave birth to three of these boys.

18 John M. Gatti, "Hypospadias," http://www.emedicine.com/PEDtopic1136.htm.

Discussion

A Mohel book is more likely to reflect actual usage of civil names than a document issued by the authorities because of the lacking coercive element. It appears, therefore, that already around the turn of the century somewhat less than half the Huerben Jews used a civil name. By 1810 over 80% did so — well in advance of the 1813 edict. It would either suggest anticipatory compliance or, in regards to the compulsory name adoption, the fact that the edict only acknowledged what was already happening anyhow.

At least in Huerben, the vast majority of civil names derived from an individual's geographic origin.

The chronological discrepancies between birth registration and circumcision could have several different explanations: reporting the birth to the authorities might have been incomplete or tardy. Circumcisions might have occurred later than on the eighth day. The Mohel or city clerk might have made errors in recording the event, and the errors might have occurred upon transcription of either document. In any case, it does suggest that the accuracy of either document is suspect.

The mismatch between male births and circumcisions raises some questions. While it is possible that parents from the surroundings might have availed themselves of the services of the Huerben Mohel, this in fact should have raised the number of circumcisions. A second, at least partial explanation could be that the Mohel or transcriber did not record all circumcisions. The five out-of-sequence records give support to this hypothesis. The Mohel or transcriber seems to have lacked some diligence in his record keeping. However,

negligence tends to follow a random pattern. All 11 previously documented sons of the author's great-great-great-grandfather are accounted for — a situation with a probability of less than 2%, if 30% of records were lost by chance alone.

A third hypothesis could be the existence of at least one competing Mohel. None of the two sons of Rabbi H. Schwarz born during the period appear in the Mohel book, which supports this hypothesis.

The fourth and probably the most intriguing hypothesis suggests that maybe not all Jews at the time had their sons circumcised. Towards the middle of the 19th century, medical concern regarding benefits and risks of ritual circumcision became more dominant.[19] Also, after the Judenedikt of 1813, the Jews in Bavarian Swabia felt increasingly oppressed.[20] This sense of despair could have encouraged parents not to have their sons circumcised to facilitate later emancipation.

The documented shift in godparent selection also requires some reflection. The pattern of naming the first godparent formally and the second by nickname suggests a social gradient. Could it be that the custom formed part of the charitable support network, where needy coreligionists were given sinecures at a time of mounting poverty? *The Diary of Lazarus Morgenthau*[21] illustrates that young men moving to Huerben at that time often were destitute and dependent on handouts for their survival.

Thus, a systematic analysis of a Mohel book from a village in Bavarian Swabia allows glimpses into the social fabric of a rural Jewish community at the beginning of the 19th century.

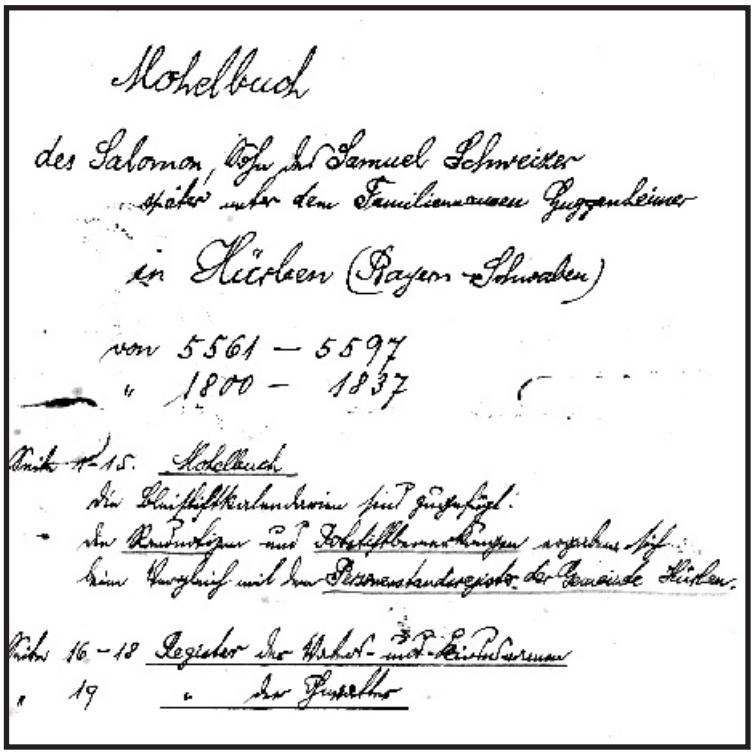
19
J. Bergson, *Die Beschneidung vom historischen, kritischen und medizinischen Standpunkt mit Bezug auf die neuesten Debatten und Reformvorschläge* (Berlin: Scherk, 1844), 44-85.

20
D. Bauer, Letters to Baron Jacob von Weil. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland Heft* 1; 1935: 70 - 72.

21
Louise Morgenthau, *The Diary of Lazarus Morgenthau* (New York, 1933).

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, for making the transcript available. The generous advice and supportive materials from H. Auer, Krumbach, E. Bosch, Noerdlingen and R.A. Hawkins, University of Wolverhampton are greatly appreciated. As always, Naomi Bloch polished the author's prose thoroughly.


Mohelbuch
des Salomon, Sohn des Samuel Schweizer
später unter dem Familiennamen Guggenheimer
in Hürben (Bayern - Schwaben)
von 5561 – 5597
" 1800 – 1837
Seite 1-15. Mohelbuch
Seite 16 – 18 Register der Mohel- und Kindesnamen
" 19 " der Gesetze

A copy of the cover of the Mohel book transcript

THE ZIVIS OF MUELLHEIM

—JUSTIN J. MUELLER

Where did the first known Zivi ancestor, Aaron Moshe Zivi, come from? We do not really know; nor do we know the name of his wife. Supposedly, he was born in Sulzburg, which had an old Jewish community, born about 1660, and moved to Muellheim before the turn of the century. It has been accepted that his son, Rafael Paul bar Aaron Moshe Zivi, was born at Muellheim in 1690 and died there in 1762. The various historical accounts differ.

However, where did these early ancestors of ours come from to settle in Muellheim? Various places are named in the general Upper Rhine region: Stuehlingen (now part of Waldshut am Rhein), Switzerland, or Alsace. We do know Jews have been living in the general area who may have come with the Romans, who were in the region into the 5th century of the Common Era (CE). We do know that in the 16th century a Jew was hanged in Muellheim for stealing a chicken. To this day, the spot on a small rise on the road to Sulzburg, is known as 'Judengalgen' (Jew's gallows). We also know about the burning of the Jews of Basel, Neuenburg, and Strassburg during the time of the great Black Plague panic in the 14th Century.

Family saga, as told to the author as a child, held that Jews (i.e. the Zivi family), had lived in Muellheim 'for ages' – after all, Rafael Paul Zivi was born in Muellheim in 1690! Thus, it is possible that they lived there and were simply tolerated. It is also known that the status of 'Schutzjuden' (protected Jews) was not automatic and was generally a matter of financial status.

Breisach am Kaiserstuhl, im Breisgau (west of Freiburg) is an old Roman fortress and, as such, has changed hands many times in the past. It also had an old Jewish community, one of whose members was Josef Guenzburger. He appears to have been an astute businessman and a wealthy horse trader. He was employed by the then ruling Margrave, Karl Wilhelm of Baden, to attend to some of his fiscal affairs, which included collection of the 'Schutzgeld' (protection money) from the Jews. Colloquially, he was called the 'Judenvogt' (Jews bailiff). As a result, he had considerable influence at Court and was able to get permission for Jews to settle in several nearby communities, including Muellheim, in the early 18th century.

The earliest of our ancestors of whom we have documentation (as researched by Guenter Boll) was Rafael Paul Zivi. He seemed to have been a man of affairs, well to do, and devout. Around the year 1722 (the dates given by historians vary), he bought the house that is now

Author's Notes and Acknowledgements

This article would have been impossible to write without recourse to the work of others. Memory only goes so far. In particular, I wish to mention Guenter Boll for his work, entitled: 'Von den bitteren Erfahrungen der Muellheimer Juden, 1750-1850', Muellheim, 1987 ['Of the Bitter Experiences of the Jews of Muellheim, 1750-1850'] and Rolf Schuhbauer for his work, entitled: 'Nehmt dieses kleine Heimatstueck', Muellheim, 1988 and 2001 ['Take This Bit of Home: Traces and Stations of the Road of sorrows of the Jews of Muellheim and Badenweiler between 1933 and 1945']; and last, but certainly not least, my cousin Sam Zivi who was very helpful with providing ancestors' names and dates. Any errors contained herein are those of the author.

Jewish settlements on the Rhine before the Black Death and the dispersion of 1349. Monumenta Judaica, *2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein. Katalog,* Cologne, 1963.

The Muellheim Synagogue ca. 1937

known as Hauptstrasse 115. This house remained in the Zivi family until 1921 when it was sold to settle the estate of Jakob Zivi (1828-1921), the author's great-grandfather.

Observant Jews needed a place to pray as a congregation and Rafael Paul Zivi provided an upstairs room in his house for this purpose until 1753 when a proper synagogue was built right across the street. In 1851-1852 a new and larger synagogue was built on the same site and was used until the demise of the congregation in 1940; it was demolished in 1968.

From their beginnings in Muellheim the Zivi family spread out far and wide. Since the sons had to provide for their families, they moved away and established new family lines, notably Rexingen in Wurttemberg and Haigerloch in Hohenzollern, now both in Baden-Wurttemberg, and Durmenach and Biesheim in Alsace. Of course, their descendants spread out again so that at the recent first Zivi Meeting in Muellheim (May 5, 2005) attendees came from France, Switzerland, the United States, and Mexico. The author of this article and his two cousins, Lou W. Zivi and Ralph J. Zivi, were the only 'Muellheimer' present. The fourth still living 'Muellheimer,' Gerda Zivi Frank, was unable to attend. This meeting took place at the Stadthaus Hotel am Marktplatz under a painting of the old Zivi house at #115; unfortunately, we know nothing of the painting's provenance.

The Jewish congregation of Muellheim thrived for many years and, at its peak in the middle of the 19th Century, represented approximately one fifth of the city's population. Presumably the large synagogue was full.

Over the years, the congregation dwindled, largely due to greater opportunities in the cities and abroad. Accordingly, I shall try to tell about the Zivi's I have knowledge of or that I knew.

My great-grandfather, Jakob Zivi (1828-1921), whom I never knew, was born in the house at Hauptstrasse 115 and lived there until his death in 1921. His wife, Amalie Weil from Sulzburg, predeceased him in 1916. She was the sister of Sophie Weil who married Meyer Bloch of Ihringen am Kaiserstuhl, who also became one of my great-grandmothers. (They were the parents of Caroline Bloch who became my grandfather's wife.) Jakob was a 'Viehhaendler' (cattle trader), like so many of his contemporaries. Jakob and Amalie had eight children: five daughters (Mina, Berta, Elise, Helene, and Anna) and three sons (Max, Heinrich and Gustav). The five sisters all immigrated to the United States, primarily the Chicago area, as did one son, Max.

The Zivi Name

So what does all this have to do with our family name? A 1936 German-Hebrew dictionary: Hirsch (deer) = Zvi. Other variations include: Zevi, Zvi, Tzvi, Bedi, Sebi, Sabi. These are all variations of the surname of Sabbetai (or Shabtai) Zevi, a mystic and scholar born of Sephardic parents on the 9th of Av, 1626 in Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey). He was quite precocious and unstable. He began traveling while pronouncing himself the Messiah. In 1665 he went to Gaza and there met Rabbi Nathan Benjamin Levi Ghazati Ashkenazi, a famous Lurianic kabalist and visionary who became his prophet and spread the word widely. References do not indicate that Shabbetai traveled beyond the immediate near east; however, Nathan is known to have traveled as far as Venice. The word spread by means of letters and messengers and was widely accepted by European Jewry, including some leading rabbis.

It was a period when the long-suffering Jews of Europe, especially in the east, sought solace and relief. The 30-Years War, which tore Europe apart, had just ended and in 1648 the Chmielnicki massacres occurred in Poland. The hopes of imminent salvation took hold of Jewry everywhere and soon lead to excesses. Soon enough disillusion set in and Turkish authorities imprisoned Shabtai for presuming to be king. In order to escape execution, Shabtai converted to Islam. The cult lived on well into the 19th Century – known as the Donmeh. Nowhere is there any evidence that he may have traveled to Germany, much less had a son named Zivi.

The youngest son, Heinrich (1880-1918), married Carry Heimann (1885-1942) of Muellheim and they had a daughter Gerda (Zivi Frank; b. Giessen 1916) and lived in northern Germany. Tradition has it that he was too short to serve in the regular draft army; however, when they needed warm bodies, the army drafted him and he died at Arras in France on March 18, 1918, the last of seven Jewish casualties of World War I from Muellheim.

The oldest son, Gustav (1867-1943) stayed in Muellheim in partnership with his father Jakob and married his cousin Caroline Bloch (1867-1948) from Ihringen in 1896. They rented twice (next door at 111 and 113) before buying the house at Hauptstrasse 107 'am Bergle' (on the little hill) in 1912 where the author grew up. Gustav and Caroline had three children: Hugo, Laura, and a third child who died in infancy and was too young to have a name and grave.

Hugo (1897-1974) went to local schools in Muellheim and at 14 was apprenticed to Katzauer Brothers in Bruchsal, Baden, a manufacturer of paints. There he also attended Handelschule (business college) presided over by Bernhard Zivi (1866-?) who was the son of Josef Isaia Zivi, Heinrich Sohn (1826-1927) and Fanny Diedesheimer (1834-1918). Unfortunately, nothing further is known of him, and in Bruchsal, Baden there is no record of him having been deported to Camp de Gurs in southern France.

In 1927, Hugo Zivi married his employer's niece, Hilde Maier (1899-1986) from Nussloch (near Heidelberg) and they had two sons: Wolfgang Louis (Lou W.) in 1929 and Rolf Julius (Ralph J.) in 1932. More on their adventures later.

Laura Zivi (1899-1983), married William (Willi) Mueller (1893-2000) of Lechenich in Prussia (near Cologne) in 1922. Their only child, Justin J. Mueller (1923-), is the author of this article. In early 1926 the marriage broke up and my mother returned to Muellheim with me where we lived with my grandparents at Hauptstrasse 107. Since she now had to support us, her brother Hugo set her up in a paint and household goods store at Hauptstrasse 132. Eventually she purchased the store from her brother and kept it until our immigration to the United States in May 1936.

We did not have far to go to the synagogue or the 'Kahal House' (community house) at Hauptstrasse 113 as it was just across the street. When Grandfather Gustav purchased the house at Hauptstrasse 107 in 1912 he had water, electricity, and telephone installed and converted the 'succoh' in the attic with a permanent roof.

My Uncle Hugo and Aunt Hilde and their two sons Wolfgang (Lou) and Rolf (Ralph) lived on the corner of Parkstrasse and Werderstrasse in a leased villa that had various outbuildings suitable for Uncle Hugo's wholesale paint business.

I often went to visit my uncle and aunt and along the way passed several Zivi households: in the Kirchgasse the widow of Jesaias Zivi (1849-1922), Josefine (1885-1937) lived with her unmarried daughter Mathilde (1884-1942, Auschwitz), who did fancy laundry (i.e. heavily starched shirts, collars, etc.). Her four sons Josef (?-d. Israel ?), Eugen (1882-1942, Auschwitz), Max (1886-France ?) and Emil Friedrich (1889-d. Montevideo) all went to higher schools and became teachers and professors. They sometimes visited on holidays and that is when I met some of them. Mathilde never married and stayed home so the brothers could study.

A few steps further around the corner of Lindenstrasse and Werderstrasse to this day stands an odd-shaped house with a tall outside staircase. It was there that Frau Talmine Zivi (Guggenheimer), widow of Moses Zivi (1843-1927) lived. When I had to pick up or take something to her, she was always pleasant. I believe she was Swiss and so was able to flee to Switzerland.

Going along the Werderstrasse where it joined Haupstrasse 61 lived Helene (1878-1943) and Josef Zivi (1868-1943) -- sister and brother. Josef never married and his sister stayed

home to care for him.

Going up the Hauptstrasse, just east of the old former hospital, lived Mathilde Zivi, the widow of Adolf Zivi (1863-1922). Her son, Herbert (1883-1942), lived out of town but came visiting occasionally, especially on holidays. I do not have any data on these people; however, he reputedly had all sorts of Zivi family documents, which are, of course, lost to us. The last I heard of him, many years ago, was that he fled only to perish at Majdanek in 1942.

Opposite the old hospital, Haupstrasse #91 lived Carry Zivi (1885-1942), widow of the fallen Heinrich (1880-1918, Arras), with her daughter Gerda (1916-). They lived with Carry's parents, Salomon and Rifka Heimann. Two houses away lived Walter Frank (1911), whom Gerda later married and with whom she immigrated to the United States.

Many years ago, I met an Israeli woman, Ceruti bas Yotam, who at the time was living in Queens, New York with her family. She claimed to be a descendant of Hermann Zivi originally be from Elberfeld, presumably a granddaughter of Hermann Zivi, but had no further information and was unhappy living in the United States. I had no further contact with her

On a Sunday morning in late 1935, a police constable came to our home at Hauptstrasse 107 to 'invite' my mother Laura (1899-1983) for an interview with the Gestapo. The Gestapo questioned Mom about her friends and acquaintances and she came home frightened and fully determined to leave as soon as possible. By June 1936, we arrived in Brooklyn, New York and stayed with my Grandmother Zivi's sister Babette Bloch. After a short time, my mother found work and became independent. During the remainder of 1936 I was in three different foster homes and schools until January 1937 when I went

The Zivi Family ca. 1934/1935
From left to right:
Caroline Zivi, Justin Mueller, Laura Zivi-Mueller, Hilde Zivi with son Rolf Zivi, Hugo Zivi, Wolfgang L. Zivi, Gustav Zivi

Decadency Chart of Justin J. Mueller

Aaron Moshe ben Zivi
b. Ca 1660, Sulzburg
d. ???

↓

Raphael Paul Zivi
b. 1690, Muellheim
d. 1761, Muellheim

↓

Joseph Zivi
b. ca. 1730, Muellheimd.
1802, Muellheim

↓

Moses Zivi
b. 1754, Muellheim
d. 1831, Muellheim

↓

Heinrich Zivi
b. 1798, Muellheim
d.??? (Muellheim?)

↓

Jacob Zivi
b. 1828, Muellheim
d. 1921, Muellheim

↓

Gustav Zivi
b. 1867, Muellheim
d. 1943, New York, NY, USA

↓

Laura Zivi Mueller Haber
b. 1899, Muellheim
d. 1983, Poultney, Vt, USA

↓

Justin J. Mueller
b. 1923, Lechnich/Prussia

to live with Rose and Ben Goldman, where I remained for a year and a half. Since my mother's pay was minimal (this was during the Depression), the $30 per month for my board was largely borne by my Grandfather Gustav's siblings in Chicago.

In the summer of 1938, my mother and I moved to a small apartment in the East Bronx, then an area heavily populated by eastern Jews; we were neither welcome nor comfortable.

The Kristallnacht occurred November 9-10, 1938 and it became imperative to get our immediate family (Grandparents Gustav and Caroline Zivi; Uncle Hugo and his wife Hilde and their two sons Lou and Ralph) out of harm's way. In a matter of months, we managed to arrange for the two boys, Lou and Ralph, to go into France. The borders were already closed, so the family was told to go to Breisach where my Grandmother Caroline's nephew, Samson Schick (son of Hermine Bloch), awaited them on the bridge.

There were many more adventures and shenanigans, including deportation to Camp de Gurs in southern France, U.S. quota numbers, and fraudulent visas to Cuba. Anti-Semites in the U.S. Dept. of State's Visa Division were not helpful either. However, by God's grace the entire family arrived in New York City in April 1942 on a Portuguese ship via North Africa. All of this occurred because the Gestapo questioned my mother!

At the beginning of the 20th Century more and more of our ancestors took advantage of the opportunities available and achieved various degrees of success. I know of only a few as family tree charts do not give too much information and personal memory goes only so far. Interestingly enough there was relatively little familiar/social connection between the various Zivis. One knew there were cousins; however, some of their personal data and formal addresses were not known.

When a Swiss Professor Picard made an ascent into the 'stratosphere' in the 1930s grandfather casually mentioned that he was a cousin.

Hermann Zivi (1867-1943, Tel Aviv) became a cantor and composer of Jewish ritual music. He was first employed in Düsseldorf and later as Chief Cantor at Elberfeld. As mentioned above, his cousin Bernhard was head of the Handelschule in Bruchsal.

One of our cousins unwittingly attained a certain prominence in history, namely Alfred Dreyfus, the innocent victim of the so-called 'Affaire Dreyfus' that tore apart France and unleashed anti-Semitism. He was falsely accused and eventually exonerated. He was the great-great-great grandson of our common ancestor Rafael Paul Zivi ben Aaron Moshe.

There is an interesting corollary to the 'Affaire Dreyfus': The Viennese journalist Theodore Herzl who reported on the trial, concluded that the situation of the Jews needed a political solution; hence, Zionism as a political party.

Another Zivi descendant comes to mind: Rabbi David Max Eichhorn (1906-1986) son of Anna Zivi-Eichhorn (1874-1945) and Josef Eichhorn of Columbia, Pennsylvania. During World War II he served as a military chaplain in the U.S. Army and was among the troops that liberated Dachau. He held many prominent positions with various Jewish groups and was a widely published author.

The Zivi family is one of the few Jewish families to have a surname before the early 19th Century when surnames generally became required. We have no knowledge of when or where the name 'Zivi' originated. Through the years, there have been some odd spellings of the name due to local language usages; today the spelling Zivi (or Zivy in France) is generally accepted.

A FRANCO-PRUSSIAN AFFAIR

— ADAM YAMEY

This is the story of some of the relatives of my matrilineal great great grandmother, Clothilde Rieser, who were involved on different sides of the Franco-Prussian War and its aftermath.

Historical Background

In 1870, the French declared war on Prussia and her allies because they felt unduly threatened by the actions of the Prussians, including their increasing military strength, their desire to unify the states of Germany, and their attempt to put a Prussian prince on the recently vacated throne of Spain.[1] The Franco-Prussian War (July 1870- May 1871) resulted in a resounding defeat for the French, and the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Avenging France's upsetting defeat may have been one of the French objectives in the First World War. More than two decades after the war ended partly as a reaction by the French to their débâcle, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew from Alsace, an officer in the French Army, was falsely accused of passing military secrets to the Germans. This was the beginning of the so-called "Dreyfus Affair."

Family Connections (SEE FIGURE 1)

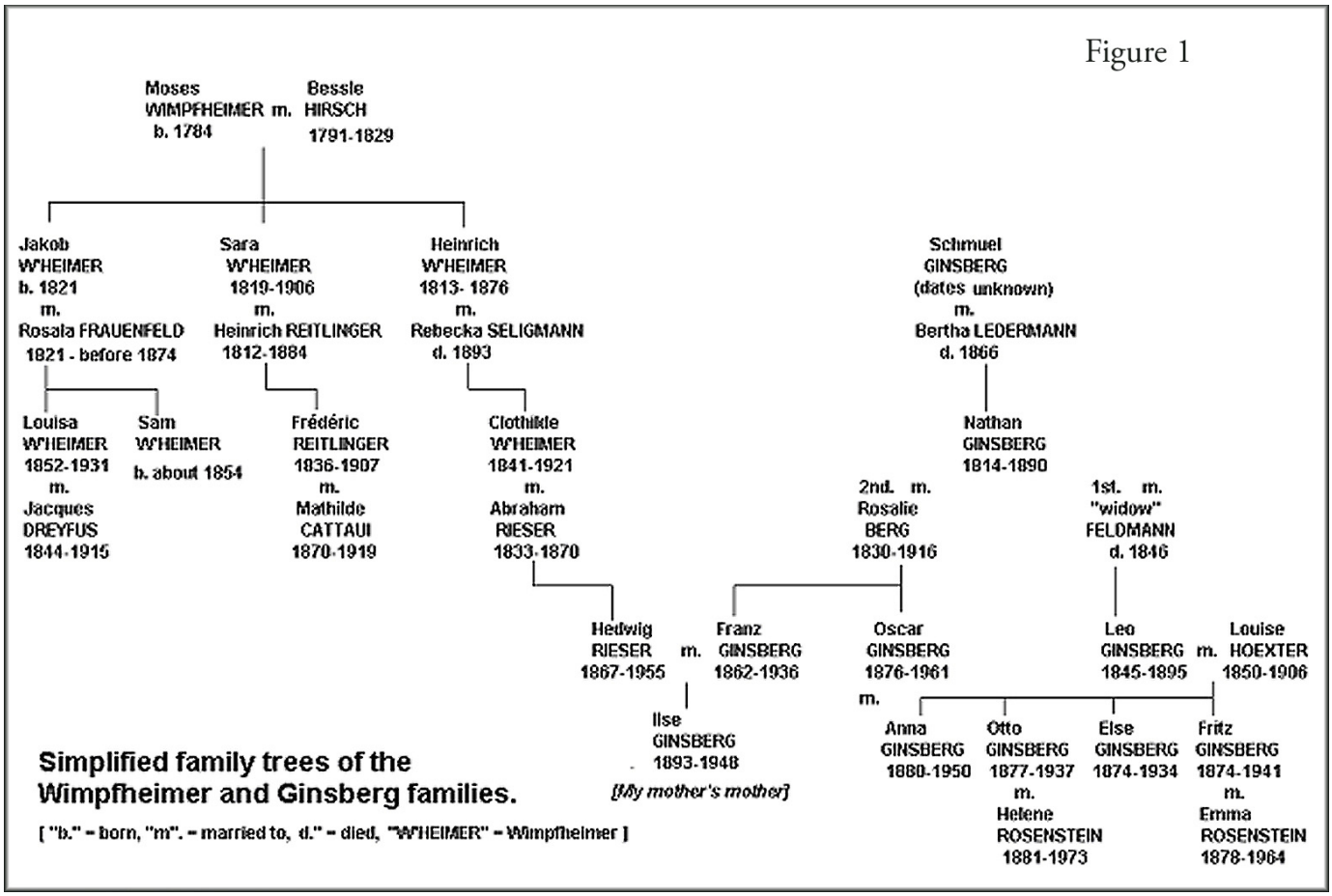
Clothilde Rieser (née Wimpfheimer - lived 1841 - 1921) was born in Ichenhausen, near Augsburg in Bavaria.[2] She married Abraham Rieser (1833-1870) from Laupheim (in Württemberg), moved to Augsburg, then Munich. Clothilde's father Heinrich (1813-1876) was the oldest child of Moses Wimpfheimer (born 1784) of Ichenhausen and his wife Bessle (1791-1829), and Clothilde's mother was Rebecka (née Seligmann, she died in 1893) also of Ichenhausen. Three of Clothilde's first cousins were involved in significant ways with aspects of this period of history. Her cousin Friedrich Reitlinger (1836-1907) was a son of Sara (1819-1906), one of Heinrich Wimpfheimer's sisters, and Heinrich Reitlinger (1812-1884) of Ichenhausen. Friedrich migrated to France where he became a French diplomat. One of Heinrich Wimpfheimer's siblings, Jakob (born 1821) went to

1
See *A History of Germany 1815-1990* by W. Carr, publ. by Edward Arnold: London, 1991, 113-115. For much more detail, see "The Fall of Paris" by A. Horne, publ. by Pan Books:London, 2002, chapter 3 and also *The Franco-Prussian War* by G. Wawro, publ. by Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003. NB. what started as a Franco-Prussian War ended as a Franco-German War, as during that period the German states underwent unification.

2
I have a copy of her Enthaltungs-Schein (a school certificate of sorts) dated Ichenhausen,May 1859.

3
Jakob and his wife Rosalie arrived in New York from Bremen via Southampton on 18th March 1852 on the steamship "Washington", The ship's manifest (found for me by Alice Josephs on www.ancestry.com) gives Rosalie's age as 31, and Jakob's as 31 yr. and 8 mos. on that date. So Rosalie was born about 1821.

the USA in 1852.[3] There, he and his wife Rosalie (née Frauenfeld, 1821 - before 1874) had children including Clothilde's first cousins Louisa (1852-1931) and her younger brother Sam (born about 1854),[4] both connected with the "Dreyfus Affair." One of Clothilde's daughters, Hedwig (1867-1955), married Franz Ginsberg (1862-1936), in South Africa. Franz was born in the Upper Silesian city of Beuthen (in Prussia) as was his half-brother, Leo Ginsberg (1845-1895), who served in the Prussian forces that invaded France in 1870.



4
From the 1870 US Census, Louisa's year of birth appears to be 1851, but was actually 1852. This same census shows Sam to have been born in 1853. Assuming that the age difference is correct Sam was probably born about 1854. (Census from www.ancestry.com. , thanks to Miriam Margolyes).

A Prussian Soldier and Colonist in Strasbourg

Leo Ginsberg, a brother-in-law of Clothilde Rieser's daughter Hedwig, was the only son of Dr. Nathan Ginsberg (1814 - 1890)[5] and his first wife, born Singer (died 1846), the widow of a Mr. Feldmann.[6] Leo, like the many other German Jews who were patriotic during the Franco-Prussian War,[7] fought for Prussia.[8] He was one of a number of Jews, from Germany who, after the Prussian victory, settled in the large commercial and industrial centers of the Reichslande Elsass-Lothringen[9] (the name for Alsace-Lorraine after its annexation by the Germans). By 1872, Leo, who was a merchant, and his wife Louise (née Hoexter, 1850-1906) had settled in Strasbourg, in the "Reichslande." They moved to a house at number 5 Tribunalgasse in 1874.[10] They had four children: twins born in 1873, Fritz (died 1941) and Else (died 1934), Otto (1877- 1937) and Anna (1880 - 1950). Fritz joined a medical instrument firm in Germany. His sisters Else and Anna studied art in Berlin under Professor Franz Skarbina.[11] Otto, fluent in French and German, worked as an

5
Nathan was a founder (in 1861), and also director of, the Jewish Community School in Beuthen For information about the Jüdische Gemeindeschule see Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für Beuthen, Gleiwitz & Hindenburg, No. 19, 31 Dec. 1936. And *Juden in*

engineer, specializing in heating and air-conditioning. He worked in Belgium before the First World War and after this in Germany, where he had many government contracts. All of Leo's children lived out their lives in South Africa.

Friedrich Becomes Frédéric[12]

While Clothilde Rieser's future[13] in-law, Leo Ginsberg, was helping Prussia to defeat France, her first cousin Friedrich Reitlinger was attempting to extricate France from the conflict. Friedrich was born in Ichenhausen. After attending a college in Augsburg he undertook Talmudic studies in Breslau before studying law at the universities of Munich and Heidelberg. After practicing as a lawyer in Germany for a few years, Friedrich went to Paris in 1866. In Paris he met, and was asked by, the Emperor Napoleon III to write a book about cooperative societies in Germany. This work was of so much importance to France that in 1867 the Emperor granted him the "grande naturalisation," a 'fast-track' French naturalization: he assumed the French name of "Frédéric."

Frédéric Reitlinger and the Siege of Paris[14]

Soon Frédéric was a successful attorney in Paris. Jules Favre, who was the Vice-President and foreign affairs minister of France's National Defense Government from 1870, chose him to be one of his private secretaries. In late October 1870, the Prussian Army had besieged Paris for almost two months, and Favre, feeling that public opinion in Austria and Great Britain was becoming sympathetic to the French, asked Frédéric to leave Paris and to go to London and Vienna in order to plead the French cause. Frédéric described his mission in a book, "A Diplomat's Memoir of 1870,"[15] some of which I have abstracted below.

An Aerial Adventure

The only way to get out of the besieged city was by balloon. At nine o' clock on the 28th October Reitlinger's balloon, the "Vauban," was ready to leave the Gare d'Orleans. It was a sunny morning as the balloon was loaded. The wind was favorable, blowing towards the west, away from the east of France, which was behind Prussian lines. On board the balloon, in addition to Frédéric were Monsieur Cassier, a Belgian pigeon-fancier and Director of the French Pigeon Post, 23 of his pigeons and a sailor named Guillaume who was to act as "aeronaut."[16] After the balloon had been carefully guided past the rooftops around the launching site, it was freed from its moorings. The balloon began its ascent, "It was a short moment and passed like a flash. The balloon turned on itself with a dizzy swiftness. It went up, and up, always turning….Where were we and where were we going?," wrote Frédéric. And well might he ask, for, "…our balloon had no compass…" and the sailor who was their aeronaut had no knowledge of aerial navigation. They crossed enemy lines high enough to be out of range of the Prussian marksmen's bullets. In the afternoon, they struck a storm: "Our poor balloon, though it was great, as I have said, not less than a ton, was as light as a feather on the wings of the hurricane. It danced madly up and down, shaken and tossed about like a fragile skiff." The balloon crash-landed, without any personal injury being suffered, in a forest. They had no idea where they were,[17] and whether they were in Prussian-held territory, which in fact they were! Luckily, a Frenchman, Julien Thiébeaux, rescued them. He told them that the Prussian soldiers were looking for them, then escorted them to the Belgian frontier and safety.

Oberschlesien, Teil 1, by P. Maser and A. Weiser, publ. by gebr. Mann Verlag: Berlin, 1992, 81.

6
After his mother died Leo's father re-married. Leo's stepmother Rosalie Berg (1830 - 1916) produced 12 half-siblings to keep him company, including Clothide Wimpfheimer's son-in-law Franz.

7
See "Kultur and Civilisation, after the Franco-Prussian War, a Debate between German and French Jews", by S. Cresti, a paper in EURONAT and IAPASIS Joint Seminar Series on The Stranger 2002 ,European University Institute.

8
Information from his great granddaughter Wendy Wayburne (1943-2004), and also from another independent source Estrid Else Hansen (1904- after 1988) who was a daughter of Hermine Ginsberg (1865-1940), one of Leo's half-siblings. Incidentally, German Jews exhibited this same patriotism again in 1914.

9
See "The Social and Religious Transformation of Alsace-Lorraine Jewry 1871 - 1914" by V. Caron in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* XXX, publ. by Secker & Warburg: London, 1985, 335.

10
Information from the archives of Strasbourg, kindly researched for me by Pierre Kogan.

11
See Cape Mercury (publ. in King Williamstown, South Africa),

Sept 7th., 1899. Skarbina (1849-1910) was born in Berlin, son of a goldsmith from Zagreb. After a successful artistic career he became a professor at the Kgl. Akademie der Künste in Berlin in 1888. He became a founding member of the Berlin Secession movement in 1898, and took part in their exhibitions of 1899, 1900 and 1901. (see http://www.musee-imaginaire.de/lesesaal/skarbina/biografi.htm).

12
Early life of Frédéric from article in "The Jewish Encyclopaedia", accessed via http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com.

13
Hedwig Rieser married Franz Ginsberg in 1888, in Rouxville, South Africa.

14
The Siege of Paris lasted 20th September 1870- 28th January 1871. (See Horne, above)

15
The English translation of this book, from which I quote,was published in 1915 by Chatto and Windus, London. It was translated into English by his nephew Henry Scipio Reitlinger (1885-1951), a graduate of Kings College Cambridge and connoisseur of art. (See his obituary in King's College Annual Report, 1950). Also, Henry's younger brother Gerald (1900-1971), also a connoisseur of art, and a writer on the subject, was a historian, being the author of the well-known account of the Holocaust, *The Final Solution* first published in 1953, as well as other books about the activities of the National

A Diplomatic Mission

In Vienna, Frédéric must have realized that his mission was unlikely to succeed. The Austrian statesman Count Friedrich Ferdinand Von Beust told him, "…Prussia will listen to no one in Europe. She will be influenced by nothing except the number of soldiers whom Europe can send to the theatre of war, and she (i.e. Europe) has none to send." From Vienna, Frédéric went to London, arriving in early December. There, he met both the Foreign Secretary Lord Granville and the Prime Minister Mr. Gladstone who were sympathetic to the plight of the French but felt that they could not interfere in the conflict, as it was not Britain's problem. (In this and the preceding section all quotations are from Reitlinger's own published account).

After the Treaty of Frankfurt (May 1871),[18] which marked the end of the Franco-Prussian War, while Leo Ginsberg settled into his new home in occupied France, Frédéric devoted himself to his legal work at the Cour d'Appel.[19] France rewarded Frédéric for his services, by making him an officer in the *Légion d'Honneur*.[20] He married Mathilde Cattaui (1870-1919), of Egyptian Jewish origin. They had five children, one of whom died in 1917, and two who died in Auschwitz.

Leo's Children Cross the Equator

Many Jews left the Reichslande to avoid military conscription.[21] Leo Ginsberg's sons did not leave for that reason. When his son Fritz was about 20 years old, he was sent to South Africa by the firm for which he worked, possibly because he had a relative living in South Africa involved in the business community there. His uncle Franz Ginsberg[22] who was a prominent industrialist in King Williamstown[23] ran a flourishing match factory (and other factories) there. Shortly after Fritz arrived[24] in Africa, his company went bankrupt, leaving him without a job. Fritz then joined his uncle's firm and worked as an accountant in it, soon becoming one of its directors.[25] In September 1903, Fritz visited Germany where he married Emma Rosenstein (1878-1964). In April 1904,[26] they returned to South Africa. They had three children there. Fritz's sisters Else and Anna, having completed their studies in Berlin, joined their brother in King Williamstown. They opened a photographic studio there in late 1899[27]. Else remained a spinster, and was always in poor health. In 1903, her sister Anna married her uncle, Leo's half-brother, Oscar Ginsberg (1876- 1961). In 1937, the last year of Otto Ginsberg's life, when, as a result of pressure from the National Socialist regime, all opportunities for work in Germany dried up for him, he, his wife, Helene Rosenstein (1881-1973)[28], who was Fritz's wife's sister[29], and their three children, joined his siblings in South Africa.[30] Thus, Leo Ginsberg's children left Europe and avoided the Holocaust.

Louisa and Jaques Dreyfus

Clothilde Rieser's uncle Jakob Wimpfheimer, born in Ichenhausen, an uncle of Frederic Reitlinger, married Rosalie Frauenfeld, and had a few children before they immigrated to the United States.[31] The family settled in Philadelphia where Jakob became an industrialist[32], and where Clothilde Rieser's first cousins Louisa, and, later, Sam were born. In 1874, Louisa, with her widowed father, came to Paris to marry Jacques[33] Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew[34] born in Mulhouse (1844 -1915). They were married in Paris on 28 June of that year.[35] When Alsace-Lorraine became a German territory in 1871, a clause in the Treaty of Frankfurt allowed residents in this region to opt for French citizenship before October 1872, provided that they became domiciled outside the Reichslande.[36] This created

opportunities for Germans, like Leo Ginsberg, to take their place. Many of the French Jews who took advantage of this clause were from the middle- and upper-middle classes.[37] Included among them was the Dreyfus family who, with the exception of Jacques, did so. Jacques Dreyfus and his family stayed in Mulhouse to salvage and run the family's textile interests.

The Dreyfus Affair

Jacques Dreyfus's youngest brother Alfred (1859 - 1935) joined the French army. By 1894, he was a captain with a very good service record. In October 1894, Alfred was arrested, and accused of having passed military secrets to the Germans. This was the beginning of the "Dreyfus Affair,"[38] which unleashed a pent-up surge of anti-Semitism in France. A trial was held in camera. His sister-in-law's (Louisa's) American brother Sam Wimpfheimer who was in Paris at the time was one of three members of the family who waited in the corridors of the city's Cherche-Midi prison for news of the court's verdict.[39]Alfred was found guilty[40] and sentenced to perpetual exile. He was confined under the harsh conditions on Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana. His family and many others, notably the author Emile Zola, were convinced, correctly as it turned out, that Alfred had been wrongly accused, but needed to demonstrate it and to petition for a re-trial. This proved to be very difficult.

Sam Wimpfheimer Steps In

In April 1896 Mathieu, a brother-in-law of Louisa Dreyfus, accompanied by her brother Sam Wimpfheimer, acting as translator, went to London to approach the Cook Detective Agency for help.[41] Cook, with the co-operation of Clifford Millage, the Paris correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle", arranged for the paper to publish in September 1896,[42] a bogus report that Alfred had escaped from exile. The French press took this up and reprinted it, without checking its veracity. This was soon shown to be untrue, the government denying it publicly. However, this ruse was sufficient to demonstrate to the French public that their press, much of it anti-Semitic, which had generally poisoned them against Dreyfus's innocence, was unreliable. This led to a turn in the tide for Alfred, and was one of the factors leading to his return to France for his re-trial in 1899 and his eventual pardon in September 1899. Restoring Alfred's release and pardon was not cheap, but the family industries run by Jacques Dreyfus helped to supply the finances for this. Louisa lived on in France long after her husband died. In 1915, as a recent widow, Louisa joined the many members of the Dreyfus family who lived in Carpentras[43], in the south of France, but she died in Paris.[44] Unlike her cousin Clothilde Rieser's descendants who left Europe, many of Louisa Dreyfus's family had to suffer the traumas of Europe in the 1940s.

Destination and Destiny

Clothilde Wimpfheimer, her uncles and some of her first cousins were born in Ichenhausen, many of whose inhabitants, as many as 40% in 1806, were Jewish during the 19th century.[45] In 1861, the rules determining the numbers of Jews allowed to live in a particular place (the Matrikelparagraphen) were repealed,[46] allowing migration of Jews to the larger towns. Amongst those who did this was Clothilde Rieser. In an exodus that began earlier, in the 1840s, many others left Bavaria to seek a better life abroad. A number of these including Clothilde Wimpfheimer's uncle Abraham Wimpfheimer[47] (born

Socialists. Gerald's sister Nellie (1892-1978) was married to the English popular historian Philip Guedalla(1883-1944).

16
H. Azeau, *Les Ballons d'Espoir by H. Azeau*, publ. Editions (Robert Laffort: Paris, 1987), 157.

17
They landed in the Bois de Vigneulles, 3 kilometres from Vigneulle-lés-Hattonchâtel (See Azeau, 157).

18
See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco-Prussian_War.

19
From a biographical note by Henry Scipio Reitlinger in his translation of Frédéric's account of his balloon trip

20
See http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com.

21
See Caron, 324.

22
Franz Ginsberg who was son of Nathan and Leo's stepmother Rosalie Ginsberg (née Berg, 1830-1916) was married to Clothilde Rieser's daughter Hedwig.

23
King Williamstown was in the heart of an area where many Germans had settled after the end of the Crimean War: many of the Europeans who lived in the area were German speakers.

24
This makes his date of arrival

1817) emigrated as a consequence of the revolutionary upheavals of 1848-49.[48] Most left Europe, the majority of those including Clothilde's uncles Abraham, Joseph and Jakob Wimpfheimer went to the USA, a land with its own, largely fulfilled, ideals of liberty and equality where fortunes were to be made. Unlike Europe, it was relatively free of endemic anti-Semitism. A few, including Clothilde's cousin Frédéric Reitlinger, went to France with its promise, largely fulfilled, of "Liberté, Egalité Fraternité". Like most countries in 19th century Europe France had a baseline of anti-Semitic sentiment, the level of which was subject to considerable fluctuation.[49] In France, Jews were offered full civil rights in the early 1790s, and they entered French society, free to live as they wished. In contrast, German Jews first had to acculturate somewhat before being offered equal rights as German citizens (in the late 1860s).[50] Although conditions improved for the Jews in Germany, after about 1870, the gentiles never offered the "fraternité", which despite serious hiccups, such as the Dreyfus Affair whose repercussions were to reverberate well into the 1930s,[51] the French did. Moreover, the French people elected a Jewish Prime Minister, Léon Blum who unlike the British Prime Minister Disraeli, born a Jew, did not need to shed his religion. Unfortunately, the conditions that made France attractive to, and hospitable towards, the Jews, were unexpectedly destroyed in 1940. The Germans once again invaded most of the country; the Vichy regime changed the ideals of France to "Travail, Famille, Patrie " - and this "famille" harshly excluded the Jews.

However hard the Jews in Germany tried to acculturate and assimilate, their compatriots did not reward their efforts wholeheartedly.[52] An early sense of this may have subconsciously influenced Clothilde to encourage Hedwig Rieser and also her three siblings to emigrate from Germany. They went to South Africa,[53] a destination rarely chosen by German Jews in the 19th century. Hedwig Rieser's groom, Franz Ginsberg, Leo Ginsberg's half-brother, had left Germany for South Africa some years before her. Franz's father, Nathan, had had to change the direction of his career from university academic to school teacher because of Germany's restrictions of the range of employment open to Jews.[54] This experience may have made Nathan Ginsberg more farsighted than many of his contemporaries about the future of Jews in Germany. Many of his children (7 out of his 11 children who survived into adulthood) went abroad, probably on their father's advice, and this saved them from a frightening future.

In this article, I have tried to show how family history research can illustrate in a personal way events that find their way into the history books, and how a migrant's choice of destination can affect his or her family's destiny.

about 1894. He lived in Cape Town and Johannesburg before he moved to King Williamstown (see obituary in Cape Mercury, 14th October 1941) The earliest reference I can find to him is in the Cape Mercury of King Williamstown of January 29th., 1900 when he and his uncle Gustav Ginsberg (1872-1920) were members of an orchestra, which was helping the German Club of King Williamstown to celebrate the Kaiser's birthday.

25
He was a director from before 1901 until 1940, just before his death. (Information from minutes of the company's AGMs preserved in the Amathole Museum in King Williamstown.)

26
See Cape Mercury, 7th., April, 1904.

27
Their photographic studio was the first such establishment in South Africa to be run solely by women (Information from Stephanie Victor, a historian at the Amathole museum, King Williamstown.) The first advertisement for their studio was in the Cape Mercury of 1st. December, 1899.

28
As such uncle-niece marriages were not permitted in South Africa, they had to get married in Laurenço Marques in Portuguese East Africa, (Information from W. Wayburne). Uncle-niece marriages are permitted in Judaism, but not in Islam, and clearly not in South Africa in the early 20th century. In the US State of Rhode Island they were also forbidden, but an

exception to this rule was made for Jewish uncle-niece marriages. (See, for example, http://www.consang.net/summary.html).

29
The Rosenstein sisters were children of Simon and Henriette Rosenstein.

30
Information from his daughter Mrs. K. Sapiro who lives in Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

31
Information from Prof. Georg Kreuzer, the archivist for Günzburg, the administrative district in which Ichenhausen is located.

32
See http://www.lizeray.com/arbregen/pafg611.htm and http://www.judaicultures.info/Parcours-de-grandes-familles (this web-site has much of interest about note-worthy families in Belfort).

33
Although Jacque's parents who were German speakers could hardly speak French, they gave their son a French name. This was a sign that the family was becoming acculturated in favour of the French. See "Dreyfus, a Family Affair", by M. Burns, publ. by Harper Collins: New York, 1991, 29.

34
Most of the Jews in what was pre-1870 France lived in Alsace-Lorraine. They were almost all Ashkenazi. See Cresti.

35
Information on the marriage from the archives in Paris sent to me by Eve-Line Blum.

36
See Burns, 60.

37
See Caron, 320.

38
For accounts of this see for example Burns, and also "The Affair", by J-D Bredin (transl. by J. Mehlman), publ. by George Brazillier: New York, 1986.

39
See Burns 135.

40
Part of his punishment was being stripped of his braid and buttons and having his sword broken in front of his comrades and the public. This more than anything else was the greatest cause of Alfred's subsequent suffering.

41
See Burns, 178-179

42
See http://www.columbia.edu/cu/french/ maison/conferences/jaccuse/Pages.pdf .

43
See Burns, 376.

44
Information from J-B. Ponthus, a great great grandson of Louisa and Jacques Dreyfus.

45
By 1830, there was a peak in the Jewish population of the village, reaching 1300 souls See the exhibition catalogue "Village Jews - The Example of Ichenhausen", publ. by Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte: Munich, 1992, 7.

46
Ibid., 8.

47
See *Here am I*, by S.J. Woolf, publ. by Random House: New York, 1941 4.

48
See "Between Orthodoxy and Reform, Revolution and reaction: The Jewish Community in Ichenhausen, 1813-1861" by L. Harries-Schumann in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* XXX, publ. by Secker & Warburg: London, 1997, 42-44.

49
See "Vichy France and the Jews", by M.R. Marrus and R.O.Paxton, publ. by Schocken Books: New York, 1983, 25-29.

50
See Benbessa , quoted by Cresti.

51
See Marrus and Paxton, 32.

52
For a discussion of this complex subject, see *Jewish Self-hatred*, by S. Gilman, publ. by Johns Hopkins: Baltimore, 1986, and *The Pity of it All*, by A. Elon, publ. by Allen Lane: London, 2002.

53
Hedwig Rieser went to South Africa in 1887, and her brother Emanuel in 1881.

54
See my article in Stammbaum, issue 28, Winter 2006.

FAMILY HISTORY AND ITS MEANING FOR TODAY: THE CASE OF THE LEHMANS

— ROLAND FLADE

When you do family – or any other historical – research, there will always come a moment of magic when the chips start to fall into place. Suddenly you are able to link branches of a family between which there never seemed to exist any connection. Or someone at an archive hints at a source that seemed too absurd to consult in the first place and now contains exactly the piece of information you have been looking for all the time. Or, at long last, someone shows you a photograph of a person you wrote about who has grown dear to you but whose face you have never seen. Or, perhaps best of all, years after you have finished a research project, somebody comes and continues your work, sees it from a different angle and sheds new light on what has grown all too familiar to you.

All of this has happened to me numerous times, most often in connection with my work for and about the Lehman family. I would like to share some of these "magic moments" with the readers of Stammbaum because only after you have read those stories will you understand why family historians like myself spend days and weeks in dull places – and archives often are extremely boring places – and never stop looking for that one particular hint, document, or photograph.

Discovery at the Castle of Rimpar

The first such moment came in the winter of 1989. I had been sitting in a bitterly cold room in the castle of Rimpar, a small town near the provincial capital of Würzburg in the north of Bavaria, for almost a week. I guessed that Abraham Lehman, father of Henry, Emanuel und Mayer Lehman, had lived there in the 19th century. About twenty years earlier, John L. Loeb, Jr., of New York City, a great-great-grandson of Abraham Lehman, had visited Rimpar for some hours. Nothing had come out of his trip; no one in Rimpar had ever heard the name Lehman, no one had any idea where the family's house had stood. In the fall of 1989, Mr. Loeb asked me to make sure that the Lehmans and Rimpar really had something to do with each other. That is why I came to the castle.

Tens of thousands of documents are kept in the medieval building, then and now used as town hall, and success came so late that I almost gave up. But then, one day, I held in my hand a single sheet of paper containing Abraham Lehman's name. Now I could start to dig further into the history of his forbears and his sons who emigrated to the U.S. between 1844 and 1850 and, in Montgomery, Alabama und New York City, founded Lehman Brothers, then a thriving dry goods and cotton business and today an international investment bank.

I will never forget that moment in the castle, just as I will always remember what happened six and a half years later, in June, 1996. I had finally published my book *The Lehmans. From Rimpar to the New World. A Family History*, based upon research of many years.[1] Now members of the Lehman family from the U.S. and England, invited by Rimpar's mayor, Anton Kütt, and John Loeb, Jr., were congregating in Rimpar for a family reunion.

1
Apart from documents from Rimpar castle, I used material from the Bavarian State Archives and the City Archives, Würzburg, the Herbert H. Lehman Suite and Papers at Columbia University, New York, the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, the Carl von Ossietzky Universität, Oldenburg, the State of Alabama Department of Archives and History, and the Liverpool Record Office.

John L. Loeb, Jr., listens as a school choir sings Franconian folk songs during the Lehman family Reunion in Rimpar.

Putting a Face to Tragedy

One of the people I met in 1996 was Ruth Thalheimer Nelkin of Great Neck, N.Y. No one of the people coming to Rimpar had even heard her name, nor had I. Ruth Nelkin was an avid newspaper reader, and one morning she came across a small notice about the forthcoming Lehman event in her local paper. Though the name of Rimpar meant nothing to her, "Lehman" and "Würzburg" did. Würzburg was the city where she had been born in 1937, a great-great-granddaughter of Abraham Lehman. The American Lehmans and particularly New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman, a son of Mayer Lehman, one of the original Lehman Brothers, had helped her parents and herself emigrate to and establish themselves in the U.S.. However, over the years she had lost contact with her relatives. Now, sitting at her breakfast table, she read that members of the family were meeting in

Rimpar. After some meditation, she decided to get into contact with John Loeb who immediately invited her to join the group. Ruth Nelkin said yes and she and her daughter, Amy, a lawyer, took off for Germany.

John L. Loeb, Jr., former American ambassador to Denmark, in front of a portrait of his great-grandfather Mayer Lehman.

Of the many emotional moments during the three-day-long Lehman event, the most heart-breaking came when Ruth and Amy asked me to show them the house in which Ruth Nelkin had spent the first two years of her life. So, on a hot summer day, we strolled though Würzburg's Kapuzinerstraße to the house where she was born and had lived with her parents until the emigration. We stopped in the back yard and Ruth started to talk about her grandmother Eva Thalheimer, a granddaughter of Abraham Lehman. I had described Eva's ordeal in my book; she had been deported from Würzburg to the Theresienstadt ghetto in September of 1942, and killed in the Treblinka concentration camp in October of 1942. I had seen documents about the old woman put together by the Gestapo, I had received letters from people who knew her, but I had never seen a portrait of her. Standing there in the hot sunlight, Ruth Nelkin suddenly produced an old photograph from her handbag. It showed the finely chiseled face of a beautiful old woman with white hair. Later, the photograph of Eva Thalheimer found its way into the second edition of the Lehman book.

President Bill Clinton and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl sent personal messages to the people congregating in Rimpar, among them Lord William Goodhart of London, civic leader Wendy Lehman Lash and composer William Mayer of New York. But while those messages were being read during a ceremony in the Knight's Hall in Rimpar castle, I was thinking about the moment I had seen Eva Thalheimer's face for the first time.

Among the guests of honor was Duke Max of Bavaria, whose forefathers, at the time when the Lehmans still lived in Rimpar, had been kings of Bavaria. Actually, Duke Max would be king today if the Bavarian monarchy had not been abolished in 1918. Being a solid republican, Max's presence was not something that particularly impressed me. My eleven-year-old son Lukas, who accompanied me to Rimpar, had probably not even heard in school that Bavaria was once reigned by Max's forebears, among them "mad" Ludwig II, who is popular even today with tourists because of the fairy tale castles he built. Still, after the ceremony had ended, I introduced my son to the benign looking elderly man who heartily shook his hand. A photograph was duly taken of Lukas with Bavaria's would-

be-king that I gave to my mother-in-law a few weeks afterwards. Later I found out that she exhibited the photo of Lukas and Duke Max in her living room next to a photograph showing another of her grandsons with Pope John Paul II. Again the Lehman project had made someone happy.

What's in a Name

That was ten years ago. Since then, I have talked to John L. Loeb on the phone a few times and sometimes Lehman Brothers, now no longer in the family's hands, was mentioned in German business news, reminding me of the most emotionally fulfilling research I have ever done. I turned to other family histories, sometimes meeting visitors from the U.S. whose forefathers' German roots I had reconstructed, showing them the places where their families had lived and the cemeteries in which they were buried.[2] I also helped Norbert Krapf, a poet and professor of Bavarian Catholic descent teaching at Long Island University, find out more about the life and death of Klara Krapf, a Jewish woman not related to him, who was deported from Würzburg and killed in the Theresienstadt Ghetto. Norbert wrote a cycle of poems about the woman to whom he was first attracted because they shared the same family name. Years later, one of Klara Krapf's American descendants made contact with him through his web site. He has since met some of Klara's siblings. "This means more to me than winning awards", he recently wrote me.

Impact on the Next Generation

In the fall of 2005, the Lehmans once again started to occupy my mind. A nineteen-year-old girl from Rimpar, Verena Herbert, called me. She had decided to dedicate the paper that German students have to research and write in the last year of high school to the Lehman story. In June of 1996, she had been a ten-year-old-member of a school choir that sang Franconian folk songs during the Lehman event. She had already read my book and she had also gotten into contact with some members of the Lehman family present at the ceremony. When I met Verena, I was fascinated by her plan to interview people from Rimpar to find out whether the event and the newspaper coverage about it had changed the thinking of Rimpar's inhabitants about the Jewish family that had left the village more than 150 years ago and about the fate of Rimpar's Jewish inhabitants, many of whom had been killed during the Holocaust. Was there anything left after ten years? Not only had the event been reported in the local and national press, but a permanent exhibition commemorating the Lehmans and Rimpar's Holocaust victims had been opened in the castle in June of 1996, and a plaque had been unveiled at the house in which the Lehmans had lived.

Verena's paper[4], finished in January of 2006, showed that family research can indeed make a difference not just for the people who commissioned it. More than fifty per cent of the men and women interviewed by the young high school student knew about the Lehmans and the role they played in Rimpar's past and why there is a plaque at the old Lehman house. What is even more important, many mentioned Rimpar's synagogue, desecrated during the November Pogrom of 1938 and used as a warehouse today. Some said they think the former house of prayer should be renovated and opened to the public.

Each November, a group of men and women from Rimpar comes together to promote this idea during an official ceremony[5], and although their action may not have been triggered by the Lehman event, it has certainly profited from it. I am convinced that one day people interested in Rimpar's Jewish past will be able to visit the former synagogue which

2
A book is currently being written by journalist Frances Dinkelspiel of Berkeley, California, about Isaias Hellman, her great-great-grandfather, who emigrated to the U.S. in 1859. Isaias was the founder of the first bank in Los Angeles and later became president of the Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco. When Frances visited Bavaria in 2003, we went to Reckendorf, where the Hellman family had lived and where many of his relatives are buried in the Jewish cemetery. Isaias Hellman was maried to Esther Newgass, a sister of Mayer Lehman's wife, Babette.

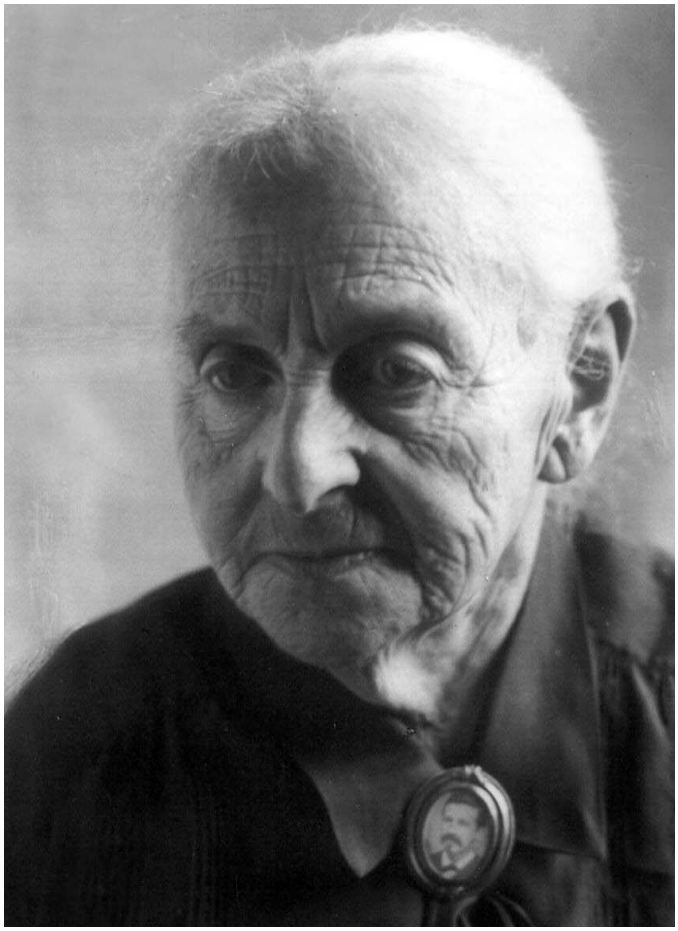
3
The Klara Krapf poems are collected in Norbert Krapf, *Blue-Eyed Grass. Poems of Germany,* Time Being Books, St. Louis, 1997. Norbert Krapf's website is www.krapfpoetry.com. The guest-book includes the first communications he received from two of Klara Krapf's descendants.

4
Verena Herbert: *Die Geschichte der Familie Lehman – Eine jüdische Familie aus der deutschen Provinz an der Spitze der amerikanischen Gesellschaft,* Facharbeit aus dem Fach Geschichte, Würzburg, 2006.

5
Lichter für die Deportierten: Zahlreiche Bürger gedachten der Pogromnacht", in: Main-Post, November 11, 2000, and numerous other articles.

still shows some of the original colorful ornaments. Among those people may well be students from the Edith Lehman High School in Dimona, Israel (named after Governor Lehman's wife), sister school of Würzburgs's Wirsberg-Gymnasium (high school), or from Mathe Yehuda County in Israel which has an exchange program with the Landkreis (county) of Würzburg to which Rimpar belongs.

The Lehman project which has occupied me for more than fifteen years now makes me believe that family research can go far beyond the reconstruction of a family's past and can have some relevance for the future. Thinking about this is also something that fills me with satisfaction.



The unexpected discovery of this portrait of Eva Thalheimer was a moment of deep emotional impact for genealogist Roland Flade. The old woman, murdered at age 86 in the Treblinka extermination camp, was a niece of Emanuel and Mayer Lehman, founders of Lehman Brothers. When members of the family congregated in the Lehmans' hometown of Rimpar in 1996, Eva's granddaughter Ruth Thalheimer Nelkin brought the photograph to Germany.

THE SEARCH FOR THE JEWISH ROOTS OF A CATHOLIC ORPHAN: A GERMAN ORPHAN SEARCHES FOR HIS ROOTS, AND FINDS A CONNECTION IN CHICAGO, 68 YEARS LATER

— HENRY STRAUS

In 2003, I was contacted by a staff person from the Alte Synagogue* in Essen, Germany (the city in which I was born). Their letter informed me that a person named Edward Boroch wanted to be put in touch with me to help him in the search for his roots. In his search, Boroch had thus far found that his father was Josef Tannenbaum, who married my mother's sister, Julchen Heinemann. This summary only scratches the surface of his story.

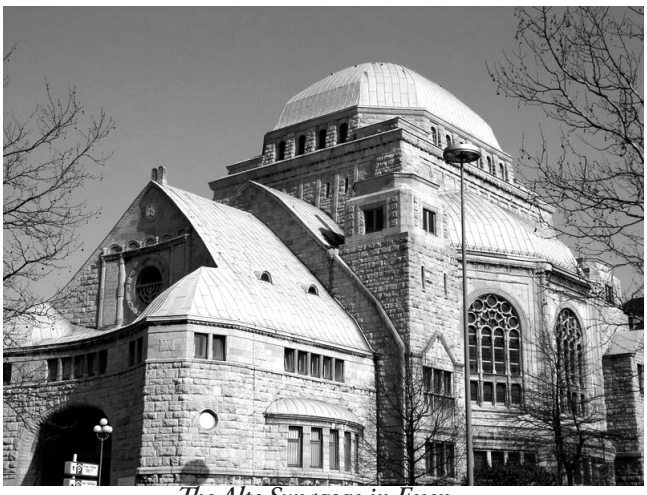
I was born Heinz Straus of Jewish ancestry. On 20 April 1939, when I was ten years old, my family emigrated from Germany to the United States. We had to leave behind my maternal grandmother, Karolina (Lina) Heinemann nee Hausmann; my mother's sister, Julchen Heinemann and her new husband, Josef (Jupp) Tannenbaum. Josef had been released from Dachau concentration camp at the end of December 1938, just prior to his wedding to Julchen. Departing from Essen's main railroad station was heart breaking for the family.

Under the Nazi regime after 1939, there were restrictions for Jews to own gold, silver, or jewelry. My parents managed to hide some of their own keepsakes, as well as those belonging to Julchen and Josef. They were able to get a portion of these back after the war. One of the recovered items was a gold pocket watch—Taschenuhr—which had been Julchen's wedding present to her husband.

Prior to 1935, Josef, who was Jewish, carried on a love relationship with Elizabeth Boroch, who was Catholic. Such relationships were, of course, prohibited under the Nuremberg racial laws. In 1935, Edward was born of this liaison. He was named "Wolfgang" at birth.

Elizabeth, Edward's mother, died in 1939 when Edward was four years old. Although Elizabeth had family in Essen, they did not take the boy in. This may have been because he was born out of wedlock, or because they were afraid to take in a half Jewish child, fearing Nazi persecution.

A relative of Josef who lived in France applied for custody of Edward but was not allowed to return to Germany, and therefore could not acquire custody of the boy. Edward was taken to live in a Catholic orphanage in Essen. Eventually he was taken by a social worker to live with a farm family in southern Germany.



The Alte Synagoge in Essen

* The synagogue in Essen, official name: "Die Alte Synagoge", a building constructed of huge granite blocks, was set on fire during the November Pogrom of 1938. The burned-out structure survived the Second World War, and was renovated by the City. It served a multitude of functions until it was dedicated to the sole purpose as an archive and research institution of the former Jewish community of Essen.

This family had him baptized and raised him with their own children. Edward believes that this social worker knew of his half Jewish parentage, and took him to a country family to protect him from harm. Rumors of Edward's background circulated in this rural area, but a relative of the family, who was a member of the Brown Shirts, managed to provide protection, and prevented his deportation to an extermination camp.

Another interesting aspect of the protection given Edward was that his baptism was not entered into the parish records, although he was baptized along with several other local children who were registered. Edward thrived, attended primary and secondary schools, all the while knowing nothing of his father and remembering little of his mother.

In 1950, when Edward was 15, the same social worker who had placed him with the farm family brought him back to Essen. She told him she did not want him to "molder" in the countryside. He entered an apprenticeship in the textile field in Essen's largest department store. This store had been under Jewish ownership before the Nazis forced its sale in 1939. The Bluhm family, the former owners, had immigrated to the United States in 1939, and after the war, regained a partial interest in the store (The store, formerly Textilhaus Gustav Bluhm, was a customer of my father's, who had been in the millinery business. I remember shopping trips there with my mother, when we went "downtown").

In 1955, Edward met Eric Bluhm, son of Gustav Bluhm, the founder of the business, who had come from the United States on an inspection trip of the Essen store, and impulsively asked him for sponsorship to immigrate to America. This request was granted, and Edward emigrated from Germany at age twenty and set up a new life in Brooklyn. He was drafted into the American army a year after his arrival and eventually decided to make the army his career. During his twenty-eight year career in the army, he served ten years in Germany, during which time he married and raised a family.

After his retirement from the army, Edward settled near Richmond, Virginia and began an intensive search for his father's and mother's history. He had discovered his father's name after obtaining his own birth certificate. He also made contact with the Alte Synagogue in Essen, which functions presently as an archive and historical repository of the history of Jews formerly of Essen.

Through their database and historical research, he learned about the deportation of his father, along with his wife Julchen and mother-in-law, to an extermination center near Izbica, Poland (Probably Sobibor; Izbica served as transit camp for Belzec and Sobibor). He also obtained his father's Gestapo file, which provides some highly interesting history, especially as it pertains to the relationship between his parents. A search for his mother's information proved unsuccessful.

My mother visited the Alte Synagogue in Essen in 1988, through an invitation of the city. There, the synagogue archivist audio-taped the story of her life, with emphasis on the years of Nazi persecution and emigration. During this interview, my mother mentioned the name of Josef Tannenbaum. An alert archivist found this link, and put Edward in touch with me. Edward was also able to obtain a photograph of his father from Yad Vashem. This photograph happened to have been deposited at Yad Vashem by my mother, along with data and photographs of other family members who had perished in the Holocaust. It was the first time Edward had seen his father's face.

After the Alte Synagogue helped put Edward and me in touch, an e-mail friendship developed, which led to an eventual meeting in Baltimore, MD, and the beginning of a personal relationship (Baltimore is relatively close to Richmond, VA, where Edward lives, and where I travel from Chicago to visit cousins from time to time). Edward and I, and our wives, met in April 2004. During this very emotional meeting I was able to restore to Edward his father's pocket watch. It is the only tangible, surviving item once owned by either of his parents.

Author's Note

Ed Boroch wrote his autobiography, which he self-published.

Contact: esboroch@comcast.net

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE FAMILY RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

FROM THE LBI OVERVIEW 2005

Karen S. Franklin, Director of Genealogy and Family History

The Family Research Department continues to serve a growing number of researchers from diverse fields of interest. Some inquiries are simple requests regarding ancestry and names, while other requests from genealogists, historians and professional researchers from scholarly journals require in-depth searches about complex relationships. In the past year there were more than 500 inquiries to LBI staff, including referrals from organizations around the world.

Recently, the staff has worked together with the Commission for Looted Art in Europe (CLAE). Through an initiative of CLAE, a team of researchers is enabling identification and restitution of over 100 collections of books that were confiscated from Jewish families in Germany and Austria. The Institute has been providing the Commission with information that makes it possible for them to trace the victims of Nazi confiscations who fled to the USA, utilizing internet resources, vital records and especially LBI materials. As a result of this collaboration, two families have been found and their books returned to them after 65 years. The books sometimes contain inscriptions from parents or family members who perished in the Holocaust and of whom nothing else survives, and their return to the families is of great sentimental and historical value.

Donations of material to the LBI Family Research Department, including family trees, community histories and personal records are always welcome for inclusion in our collections. Below is a sampling of significant archival collections received this year that enrich the important holdings for family researchers.

RECENT ACQUISITIONS

C. Theo Marx Family Collection: Family research materials used in preparation for C.T. Marx's book *The Kohnstamm and Allied Families : A Family History.* This comprehensive book on the Kohnstamm family, published in 2002, can be found in the LBI Library. The research files, which include articles and correspondence with hundreds of family members around the world, is of interest not only to this family, but to all those interested in how family research is done. Future generations of email researchers will likely not preserve such

a rich and detailed trail.

Volker Beckmann: Spezialinventar und -bibliografie: Archivalien, Sammlungsgut und Literatur zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte des 19./20. Jahrhunderts in Ostwestfalen-Lippe (112 pages): Thesis for the Fachhochschule Potsdam, Fachbereich Informationswissensch aften, Studiengang Archiv. This collection contains a listing of archival materials related to the Jews of Ostwestfalen-Lippe.

Nuremberg. Stadtarchiv: *Quellen des Stadtarchivs zum juedischen Leben in Nuernberg* (252 pages): Inventory of rich and varied sources for Jewish life in Nuremberg at the City Archives in Nuremberg.

Nikolaus Schaefer: *Die Geschichte der Judenfamilien Winterberger aus Winterberg* (219 pages): Of particular interest to family researchers is the Winterberger family history, which will be featured at a presentation in the upcoming 2006 International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies Annual Conference in New York (August 13-16) in a session entitled, "Embalmers on the Prairie: Tracking the Winter Family". An extraordinary German historian of local Jewish history, Nikolaus Schaefer, had spent a lifetime working on the history of Jewish families in towns in the area of Westphalia where he lived, but he had made only one copy of his work, which he kept in his home. With the help of two friends of the Leo Baeck Institute, historians Monica Kingreen and Dorothee Lottmann-Kaeseler, we were able to visit Mr. Schaefer in his home and obtain a copy of this invaluable family history and documentation for several other villages in the area. These holdings are unique to the Leo Baeck Institute and cannot be found in any other archive.

Marianne Gaedtke: *Jüdische Friedhöfe im Stadtgebiet von Bad Muenstereifel* (CD-ROM): Documentation about the Jewish cemeteries in Bad Muenstereifel with map and photographs of tombstones with inscriptions.

CONTRIBUTORS

WERNER L. FRANK
Since retiring as an executive in his computer software company in 1996, Werner L. Frank has been researching his family's history in the United States and Europe, amassing a genealogical database of over 30,000 names. Frank authored a book devoted to this history of his family covering 800 years: *Legacy: The Saga of a German-Jewish Family over Time and Circumstance*, published in 2003 by the Avotaynu Foundation, Bergenfield, N.J.
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PETER STEIN
Dr. Peter Stein was born in Basel (Switzerland) in 1922. His mother Madeleine Guggenheim comes from Lengnau. Peter Stein was a lawyer specialised in civil responsibility. After his retirement he worked in Jewish genealogy and published a four volume work on the Jewish cemetery of Endingen/Lengnau and a Mohel book of Lazarus Lieber Dreyfus of Endingen and many articles mostly in the Swiss Jewish genealogic periodical *Maajan*.
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RALPH BLOCH
Ralph Bloch, M.Sc., Ph.D., M.D. was born 1938 in Zurich and studied physics and medicine. After researching, practicing and teaching for 35 years in Canada, Switzerland, Israel and the US he retired in 2004. He is now working part-time at McMaster University in Canada and combining his interests in genealogy and computer programming.
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JUSTIN J. MUELLER
Following a life-long interest in electronics and a desire to live in a small town, Justin and his wife Hella (M. Rees, 1924-1994) moved to Manchester, Vermont in 1955. He soon pioneered in the construction and operation of Cable TV systems for small towns in Vermont and neighboring New York, serving approximately 8,000 subscribers. He retired in 1984, allowing him to indulge in his love of reading and traveling. He has translated several German books and articles for family and friends. In 1995 he married Marion Collingwood, a former neighbor.
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Adam Yamey was born in London in 1952. His parents had moved to London from South Africa a few years before. After completing a doctorate in mammalian physiology, he qualified as a dental surgeon. He now works in a dental practice in West London. He is married, with one daughter.
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Dr. Roland Flade was born in 1951 in Aschaffenburg, Bavaria. He studied History and English at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg, The University of East Anglia (Norwich, Great-Britain), and the State University of New York at Oswego. Roland Flade is an editor at the Würzburg daily newspaper Main-Post and the author of numerous articles and scholarly books on past Jewish life in Bavaria, among them *Die Würzburger Juden* (second edition, 1996) and "Der Novemberpogrom von 1938 in Unterfranken" (1988). In 1997, he was awarded the Bavarian Constitutional Medal for his work as a journalist and a historian.
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HENRY STRAUS
Henry Straus emigrated from Germany to the United States when he was ten years old in 1939. He and his family settled in Chicago's Hyde Park neighborhood, where his relatives who had provided his family with an affidavit lived. After graduating from the University of Illinois in Urbana, Henry Straus worked for twenty years in his family's wholesale garden supply business. In 1970, he sold the business, and founded a commercial printing business. Henry Staus is now retired and active in Jewish charitable work as a board member of the Selfhelp Home, a senior residential home in Chicago.
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A Word About the Leo Baeck Institute

Since its founding in 1955, the Leo Baeck Institute has become the premiere research library and archive devoted exclusively to documenting the history of German speaking Jewry.

In the aftermath of World War Two, with the annihilation of European Jewry almost complete, some of the leading intellectuals who were forced out of Germany and Austria were determined to preserve the shattered remains of their devastated heritage. They sought to collect as much material as they could to provide future generations with authentic evidence of this rich and varied past. The founders included Martin Buber, Max Gruenwald, Hannah Arendt and Robert Weltsch. They made Rabbi Leo Baeck, the last leader of the Jewish community in Germany under the Nazis, its first president and named the Institute in his honor, to signify the ideals of modern, cultured, assimilated German-Jewry

LBI offices were created in each of the great outposts of the exiled community; London, Jerusalem, and New York, with New York as the headquarters, home of the Institute's unparalleled library and archival collections. In September 2001, LBI New York opened a branch of its archives at the new Jewish Museum in Berlin. This marks the first time that this extraordinary array of materials is available in Europe. It is both symbolically and in fact a very significant development in the continuity of this legacy shared by Germans and Jews.

The remarkable holdings of the Institute reflect a heritage of triumphs and tragedies that must never be forgotten.

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